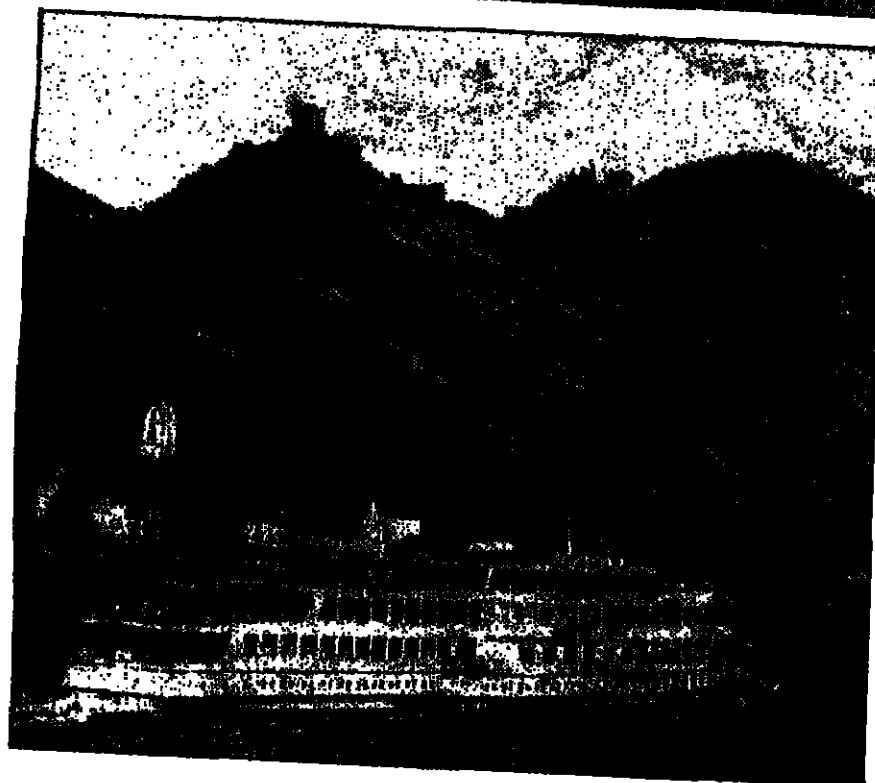
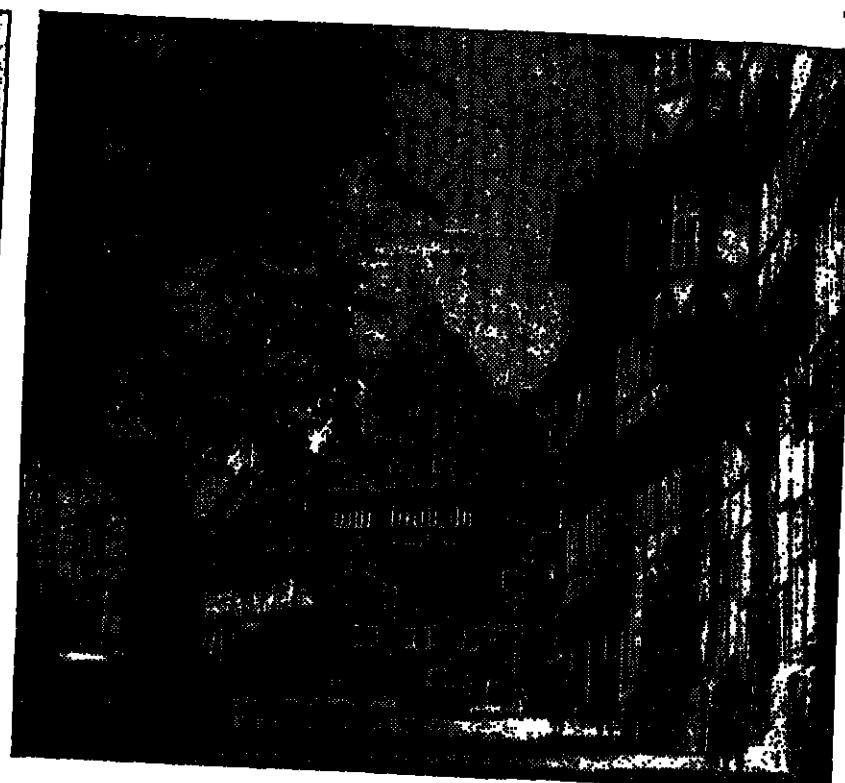
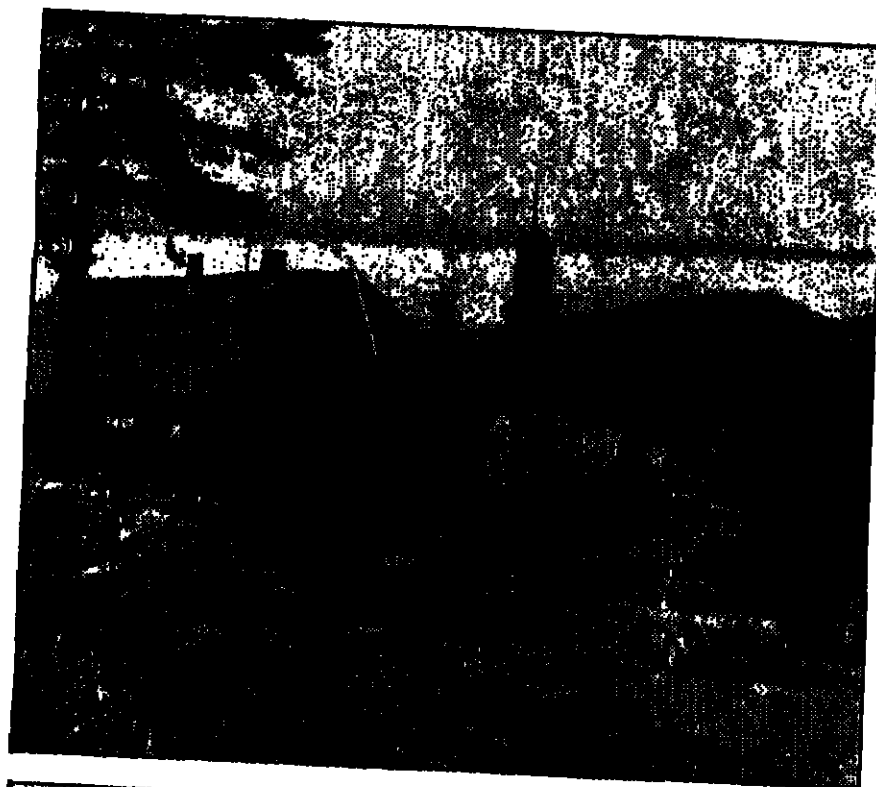


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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Hamburg, 6 December 1973
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Henry Kissinger's brave new world

DIE ZEIT

Dr Kissinger has spent the past fortnight jet-hopping his way round the restless world, commuting, as it were, between the Middle East and the Far East. His ports of call included Rabat, Tunis, Cairo, Amman, Riyadh, Tehran, Islamabad, Peking, Tokyo and Seoul before he finally returned to Washington on the twelfth day of his second trip.

One wonders whether he is gravely stressed or relatively satisfied with the use of world affairs he has encountered as Secretary of State in comparison with the concept he drew up for President Nixon in his erstwhile capacity as National Security Adviser.

Dr Kissinger's original concept was based on two premises: -

First, the policy inaugurated by President Kennedy with the test-ban treaty must be intensified. The Soviet Union must be tied up in a network of obligations in order gradually to wear it down its originally revolutionary mentality and convert it into a pillar of the international community.

A comment by Mr Brezhnev in his 26 October address to the world congress of peace forces in Moscow would seem to bear out the success of this policy. The Soviet leader noted that the risk of nuclear warfare has been reduced over the past decade by means of a gradual network of East-West agreements.

Second, Dr Kissinger worked on the assumption that the bipolar world in which every conflict and every crisis is automatically viewed in terms of friend or foe must be restructured into a multipolar world, the multiplicity of centres nonetheless being reduced to an order in which a handful of power complexes strike a balance.

The initial difficulty is that political thinking has for the past quarter-century been dominated by the contest between East and West. To begin with, each of the superpowers was convinced of its own ability to either roll back or overtake the other, at all events to bring it to its knees. Then came nuclear stalemate and the great powers were both stymied.

Only recently have the two shown interest in surmounting the system. Preventing nuclear escalation has in the past been the main consideration because of a technical necessity based, in the final analysis, on the self-preservation instinct. This negative interest has now been joined by a positive one.

The two superpowers are currently engaged in negotiating rules and regulations for coexistence in peacetime and not merely when the threat of confrontation arises. No longer do they each hope to prove their supremacy, preferring instead to rely on jointly

negotiated principles governing reciprocal relations and on agreement similarly reached in respect of crisis management.

Up to a point, then, the two superpowers already cooperate on occasion rather than remain permanently at loggerheads. The immediate consequence is that medium-sized powers and Third World countries indignantly level accusations of collusion and condominium at the Big Two.

Both partners and opponents was the term recently used by Henry A. Kissinger to characterise relations between America and the Soviet Union. True enough, both apply to a stage at which rivalry is accompanied by a modicum of partnership, security-consciousness by brinkmanship, détente by tension.

The Middle East war, during which the superpowers' airlifts literally crossed each other at right angles over the Mediterranean but in which the US threat finally sufficed to dissuade the Soviet Union from sending troops of its own to police the area, was a text-book example of this dual strategy.

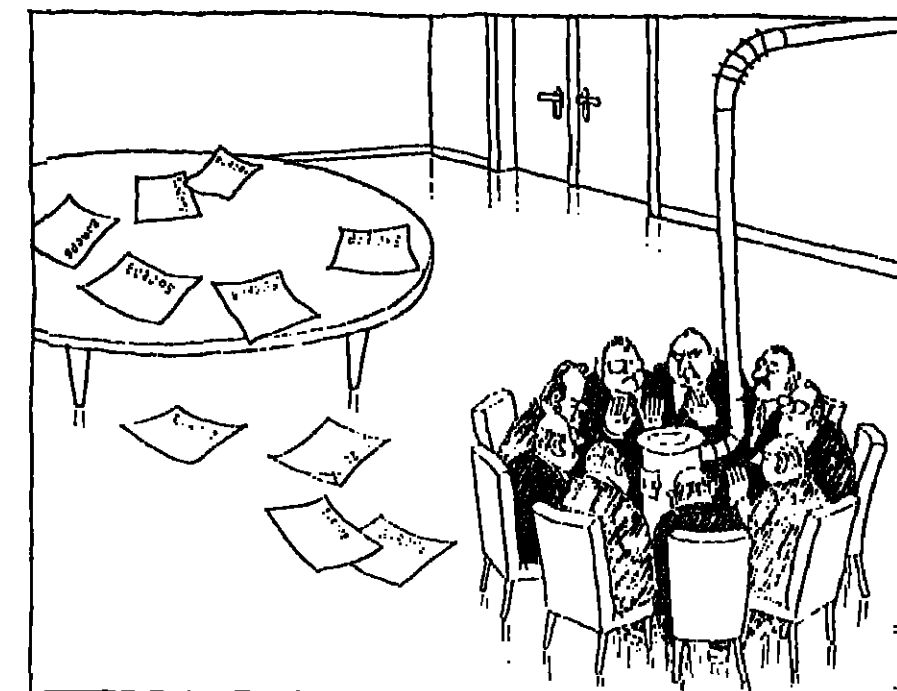
This combination of threats and cooperation signals and even joint resolutions imposed on others is a state of affairs the world will have to learn to live with for some time to come.

Yet the same rules do not necessarily apply all over the world. While the Americans and the Russians are negotiating on joint security measures in Vienna and Geneva they have both long been engaged in building up new fronts against each other in Asia. This build-up has progressed largely unnoticed. What is the point of it?

The idea of the Arabs ever achieving unanimity having hitherto appeared inconceivable, the United States has long been intent on protecting at source the oil that is vital to the industrialised countries of the West.

The chief source is, needless to say, the Persian Gulf, including Iran, which last year produced 886 million tons of petroleum as against the other Arab countries' 179 million tons.

For many years the United States has backed the rulers of Saudi Arabia, supplying the country with arms, know-how and essential goods. Ties with Iran have likewise systematically been strengthened. Since 1965 the Shah has bought 3.7 million dollars' worth of armaments in the United States. Over the past two years alone arms purchases



Forced into togetherness

(Cartoon: Peter Egert, submitted via Zeitung)

to the tune of more than two billion dollars have been negotiated between Washington and Tehran.

In April 1972 the Russians concluded a friendship agreement with another Persian Gulf country, Iraq as relations with Egypt were progressively deteriorating (in July 1972 20,000 Soviet advisers had to be withdrawn from Egypt). Russia hoped to regain in Iraq the influence it looked like losing in the Mediterranean.

At roughly the same time events in the Indian sub-continent added a new link to the chain of friends and foes. The Indo-Pakistani war, following hard on the heels of the August 1971 Indo-Soviet friendship pact as it did, heightened China's fears of encirclement and boosted Peking's readiness to come to terms with Washington.

Pakistan, defeated by India with Soviet assistance, sought closer ties with Iran, which is on cordial terms with the United States. These chain reactions have led to the emergence of a new front line in Asia, the Soviet Union, Iraq, India and Bangladesh (not forgetting Afghanistan) on the one hand facing the United States, Iran and Pakistan on the other.

It is always the same story. Regional tension is heightened by great power rivalry, each side backing its local ally, making an international issue out of a local one. Great powers are, when all is said and done, greatly tempted to make use of such opportunities as they arise.

Dr Kissinger's second premise, the attempt to transform bipolarity into

multipolarity, is ensuring repeated setbacks. A start was not even made until America and China one day discovered that they have a common interest transcending their mutual dislike. Both would like to stem the tide of Soviet influence in Asia.

In the opinion of China's Deputy Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua bipolarity has already ceased to exist. In a heated exchange with Soviet UN delegate Yakov Malik during a Security Council debate he declared categorically that the days were over when the two superpowers were in a position to manipulate and dominate world affairs on their own.

The Chinese delegate was wrong to the extent that when the crunch comes this just is not true. In the Middle East, for instance, the Big Two dominated the proceedings, and when it comes down to brass tacks there are still only two superpowers.

Chiao Kuan-hua is, on the other hand, right insofar as a three-cornered relationship already exists. Each of the three must nowadays take care to ensure that its moves do not induce the other two to make common cause against it.

This brings us back to the initial question: can Dr Kissinger be satisfied when he compares the current state of world affairs with his erstwhile blueprint? He can indeed. The contours of his new world are already in evidence. His two premises may be a little shaky in parts but they remain sound enough for Washington to derive more benefit than Moscow.

Washington's ties with either and both the Communist great powers are better (and will doubtless remain so for some time) than their relations with each other.

This claim is borne out once more by Dr Kissinger's visit to Peking and nearly three hours spent closeted with Chairman Mao. It is similarly borne out by the nearly identical view of US-Soviet cooperation in the Middle East taken in Washington and Moscow. President Nixon and Premier Brezhnev are agreed that if would all have been much worse.

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Paris calls for improved European ties

Page 2

COMMERCE
Boom pools but prices continue to rise

Page 8

RESEARCH
Oceanologists confer in Düsseldorf

Page 8

THE ARTS
Hamburg presents 75 years of German art

Page 11

OUR WORLD
Hoteliers look pessimistically on the future

Page 14

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Paris calls for improved European ties

Deutsche Zeitung
Christ und Welt

In the past President Pompidou has cold-shouldered NATO but the Middle East conflict has made him change his mind, a feat accomplished neither by Bonn's *Ostpolitik*, which in French eyes savoured of Rapallo, nor by the Russo-American rapprochement engineered by President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev.

In the wake of the Middle East conflict France has seized the initiative and called for consolidation of Western European cohesion and a restatement of the military support pledges contained in the North Atlantic Treaty.

In recent weeks Western Europe has been painfully reminded that despite its economic potential the Old World has remained a negligible quantity as far as world affairs are concerned.

As French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert noted in a speech to the National Assembly, Europe has been brutally pushed aside as an 'imperson' by the superpowers yet has nonetheless fallen foul of the Arab-Israeli confrontation.

France too has proved unable to make any contribution towards peace in the Middle East. It cannot even be said with any certainty whether France will be able to escape all the consequences of Arab oil blackmail.

President Pompidou would now like to make use of Western Europe's consciousness of being powerless in respect of the Middle East to promote a policy characterised by the French proposal last year for a political secretariat of the Nine.

At his 27 September press conference M. Pompidou declared himself willing to hold regular meetings with Common Market heads of government. The Middle East conflict obliged him to seize the initiative despite his original intention of waiting until the other Common Market countries had come round to his way of thinking.

His long-term target is a kind of European Council meeting at regular intervals and not negotiating compromises in the manner of international conferences but outlining a common foreign policy in confidential talks between the men at the top.

The Pompidou proposal for regular summit meetings as a means of promoting political cooperation between the Nine is intended in part to forestall any slackening of the reins of the European Community in the wake of the Vienna MBFR talks.

Political integration of the Nine is intended to keep the door open for a Western European defence system that would be indispensable were the Americans to pull out of Europe yet would be a non-starter if its most powerful conventional component, Bonn's Bundeswehr, were to be prized loose from the Western European defence chain by means of troop cuts in Central Europe.

As yet, mind you, the time has not come for an independent Western European military organisation. Leading Gaullist politicians are not in favour of a return to the integrated NATO military structure.

The Americans' failure to commit their NATO allies and the storm clouds of world war that momentarily gathered on the

horizon have, however, induced the French government to propose a reformulation of the basic points of the Atlantic alliance for the first time since General de Gaulle's 1958/59 suggestion of a three-member NATO directorate that President Eisenhower chose to ignore.

When Dr Kissinger first launched the idea of a new Atlantic Charter the French response was subdued, Paris suspecting that Washington merely wanted economic concessions in return for the stationing of US troops in Europe and cementation of the US claim to leadership of the West in order to rule out uncertainties in preparation for a US-Soviet rapprochement.

Following the first demonstration of how the Russo-American condominium works France no longer feels that the Atlantic alliance can be left as it is. Paris considers confirmation of three points crucial for European security to be indispensable. They are: -

1) America's pledge to station troops in Europe and should the need arise to intervene with all the means at its command, including strategic nuclear weapons.

2) Europe's pledge to maintain its contribution towards joint defence at a level sufficient to deter a potential enemy from any undertaking directed at its independence or territorial integrity.

3) The determination of all NATO members to use all the military might at their command to repel an aggressor bent on destroying European independence and to all intents and purposes securing world domination.

These proposals, made by Foreign Minister Jobert in his speech to the National Assembly, are based on the assumption that the two superpowers have largely stabilised their mutual ties by means of the Nixon-Brezhnev accords and the Salt treaties whereas Western Europe grows proportionately more vulnerable as the superpowers seal their determination to avoid nuclear confrontation.

What France would like to do is to prevent Europe from being deprived of the protection afforded by the US nuclear shield as a result of the Nixon-Brezhnev accords. Were the attempt to fail, the Soviet Union might gain the impression that in the event of conventional warfare in Europe it need have no fear of an American nuclear response.

Critics of France's *force de frappe* are bound to admit that M. Jobert's proposals imply readiness on France's part to deploy its nuclear arsenal in defence of Western Europe as a whole.

Detailed talks will of course be needed to lay down the criteria and means by which this military link-up is to be governed, but France is evidently prepared to forgo crucial features of the inflexible concept of going it alone.

This represents a historic opportunity that must not be missed unless a long succession of missed European opportunities is to result in failure once and for all.

Klaus Huwe
(Deutsche Zeitung, 23 November 1973)

Kissinger

Continued from page 1

had not their relations changed so much for the better.

Moscow will continue to seek detente with Washington because it cannot continue with enemies on two fronts and because it is far more worried about Peking than it is about Washington. Moscow is thus not interested in crises in the West and it is accordingly hard to envisage a major energy crisis really occurring.

From the Soviet point of view detente provides the only possible partial guarantee of the nightmare of two against one coming true. Henry Kissinger has good reason to be satisfied.

Marion Griffin Donhoff
(Die Zeit, 23 November 1973)

Closer understanding between Peking and Washington

Strange rumours and rash conclusions about the People's Republic of China have been going the rounds of late. Chou En-lai was said to be in danger and his policy of detente with the West on the brink of failure. The Americans, by being in cahoots with the Russians in the Middle East, put the Chinese Premier in a spot. World affairs were governed by Washington and Moscow alone after all. Even a Chinese domestic campaign against the arch-reactionary Confucius was cited as evidence of Chou's beleaguered position.

Yet in the wake of Dr Kissinger's sixth visit to China doubts as to the existence of a three-cornered contest in world affairs and the unchallenged position of Chou En-lai have suddenly subsided as swiftly as they arose.

At the height of the Middle East conflict China did indeed seem to be no more than a powerless bystander, although the Chinese were quick to seize on an ideal opportunity of giving the superpowers a good dressing-down at the UN, where Peking levelled unvarnished criticism at the authoritarian methods resorted to by the Americans and the Russians.

This criticism met with considerable approval from many intimidated Third World countries that were sick and tired of walk-on parts on a stage dominated by the great powers. Peking's outspoken views again reflected China's special role as the advocate of the weaker countries in world affairs.

The Chinese laid the blame for the depressing situation in the Middle East fairly and squarely at the superpowers' door. America and Russia were claimed initially to have brought the situation to a head in order better to be able to bring about a relaxation of tension and be hailed by the rest of the world as peacemakers.

In reality, the Chinese claimed, America and Russia were interested not in peace but in a return to an intermediate state of affairs that was neither war nor peace, this being one in which the two superpowers could compete undisturbed for spheres of influence and petroleum, jointly keeping the peoples of the world under control.

This, then, was the view voiced by China's delegate to the United Nations. In point of fact, however, Soviet expansion in the Middle East is far more alarming from the Chinese viewpoint than America's claim to power. Particularly unpleasant accusations were levelled at the Soviet Union as a result.

If Moscow is such a friend of the Arabs, the Chinese asked, why is it that in the crisis month of October more Soviet Jews than ever before were allowed to emigrate to Israel?

Russia must be even more embarrassed by China's persistent reminders that Moscow insists on the Arabs paying for arms supplies in convertible currency, allegedly a disgraceful state of affairs for the country of Lenin. China might not be able to do much in the way of plugging the gap in the Arabs' arms stockpiles but it supplied arms free of charge to liberation movements as a matter of principle.

In Chinese eyes Moscow's prompt approval of the despatch of a UN peacekeeping force to the Middle East was no more than a convenient excuse for avoiding supporting the Arabs at some risk to itself.

This, Peking points out, is a far cry from the tactics to which the Soviet Union resorted in the Indo-Pakistani war of December 1971, when the Kremlin made repeated use of its Security Council veto in order to enable its Indian protégés to score a victory over Pakistan.

The Chinese remain fundamentally critical of the superpowers' policy of dictating the course events should go in the Middle East, though they have changed their mind to some extent on its policy in the region. Peking is frankly gratified by the determined stand taken and the influence regained by the United States in Cairo, both of which stand to make life difficult for Moscow.

Yet nothing could be more indicative of the change that has come about in world affairs than the fact that Secretary of State Kissinger chose to warn the Soviet Union during a visit to China not to exploit the situation in the Middle East.

Alluding to Moscow's vacillating policy of pursuing detente with an eye to the main chance, Dr Kissinger even emphasised in Peking that China could be relied on.

The Secretary of State's Chinese visit nevertheless demonstrated that a number of significant differences remain between Washington and Peking. The two sides are proceeding most cautiously on the main issue that divides them, Formosa, the obstacle to full diplomatic relations.

They also remain at loggerheads on the persistent issue of Korea, China and North Korea pressing for the withdrawal of UN peacekeeping forces from South Korea. The Chinese are firmly in favour of reunification, whereas the United States and South Korea have so far advocated the admission of both states to the United Nations.

An initial easing of the situation would appear to be in the offing in the shape of a reduction in the 40,000-strong US military presence in South Korea under the aegis of the UN.

Yet notwithstanding these differences and indeed the still uncertain fate of Indo-China the Americans and the Chinese are steadily progressing towards better relations. China hopes to offset the threat represented by the Soviet Union with US assistance and America aims to offset the increasing power of the Soviet Union with Chinese assistance. In Peking both countries demonstrated their determination to resist hegemonial tendencies both in Asia and the world at large.

Dr Kissinger and Chou En-lai are no alone in pursuing this ambition. It also has the approval of Mao Tse-tung, who talked with the US Secretary of State for nearly three hours.

But the possible combinations in this three-cornered contest are by no means exhausted, as Chinese readiness to come to terms with the Soviet Union on frontier disputes clearly indicates.

Stefried Kubink
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 November 1973)

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POLITICS

CDU's Hamburg conference reviewed

There was no trial of strength at the CDU party congress in Hamburg, though many had predicted that there would be. The gladiatorial combats over social-welfare centring around worker participation in management ended with a made-to-measure victory for the party leadership.

Helmut Kohl, the party Chairman, can thank party General Secretary Kurt Biedenkopf to a large extent for his victory. Biedenkopf is a man who knows every nook and cranny of the problem of worker participation. He made sure that delegates "kept their heads" to a certain extent, as he had mentioned before the conference. In the end they expressed their preference for an 'almost parity' solution.

Kohl has, here and there made concessions to the "left" but he has not taken a tumble again over the question of worker participation in management as he did in 1971 in Düsseldorf, when his plans were dropped and delegates came out in favour of the Dräger proposals.

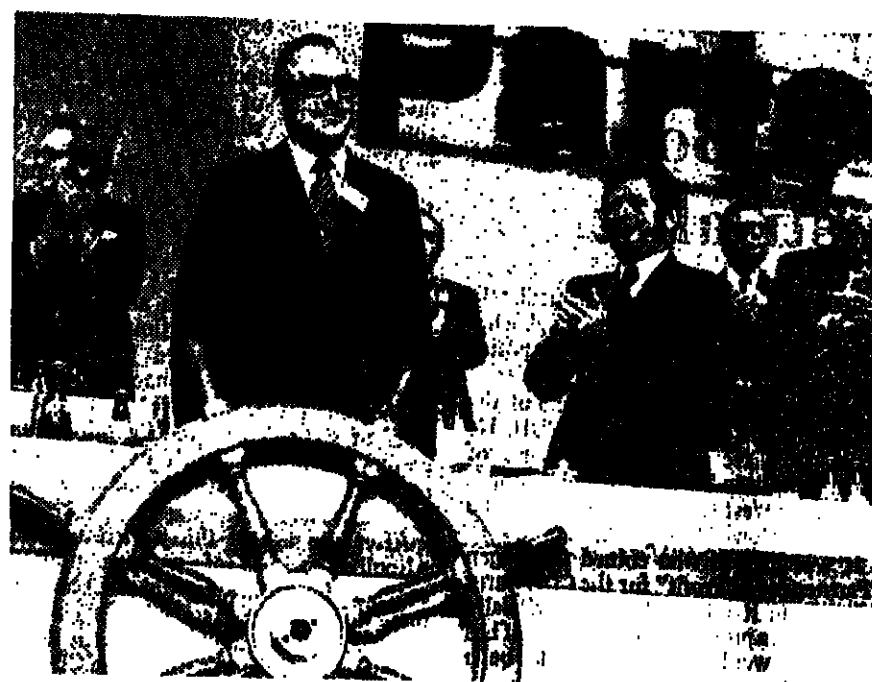
Neither Kohl nor Biedenkopf could prevent many hours being spent in Hamburg discussing the degree of parity. Party has become a magic formula. Biedenkopf said that it was one of the drawbacks of the present day that "we can't talk about our aims but how we are going to organise them".

Were not many years wasted in the discussion of education policy because "liberalism" was confused with "liberalism" in universities? The CDU still maintains its fear of having to adjust to the changes.

The list of subjects discussed at the party congress was a heritage from the days of former party chairman, Rainer Lenz, who in his turn had taken up proposals of the coalition government.

This would not be so bad if the Opposition did not give the impression of discussing details that it was acting as a legislator and would be able to join in parliament within the next three years. Herein lies the error. The disadvantage of this method is that the CDU is tying up its own hands for the future when it needs more room for manoeuvre for making decisions.

One great advantage, however, was that the CDU proved itself to be a discussion party par excellence. The integration



CDU Party Chairman Helmut Kohl receiving a standing ovation at the Hamburg conference
(Photo: Marianne von der Lanen)

effect of this for the solution of conflicts within the party should not be underestimated. A safety valve was found for the spleen of the social-services sub-committees as well as the *Junge Union*. A spokesman for Hans Katzer's sub-committees said: "They are talking about us again."

After years of vain effort the trade union wing of the CDU feels itself to be nearer its aims. Furthermore the shock effect of the crushing defeat in last year's general elections can be counted on to have a lasting effect. Once again CDU eyes are turning to the voting potential of the working classes, women and the young.

Even CDU delegates, however, wonder whether the playing around with parties is going to impress a large number of working people. The party conference avoided discussing the main topics that concern people in this country in 1973.

Floor leader Karl Carstens did trot out a long list of errors of omission and commission by the government, which was quite right for an Opposition leader, but he failed to come up with much in the way of alternatives for his party to propose to prevent or remove problems.

Helmut Kohl largely confined himself to playing the role of honest broker at this round of discussions. The main problems of today - the energy crisis, the end of the 'surplus society' and possible unemployment - were only mentioned in passing.

The Katzer win received marks of respect at the conference but no majority over the parity question, so the CDU leadership was spared an embarrassing

defeat in Hamburg, a defeat from which it would have scarcely been able to recover.

The leadership trinity of the CDU has withstood the trial of strength and emerges from the party conference strengthened. In spite of the disappointment in the CDU at the loyalty the SPD has demonstrated towards its coalition partner the CDU's relationship with the Free Democrats has not worsened. Unlike the SPD the CDU does not need to fear for its identity. But its leadership problem remains unsolved. The party has no candidate to put up for chancellor. The party conference came too early to produce a manifesto and to rectify the leadership vacuum.

So the question of if and when the party will be in a position to offer an alternative to the government from the point of view of personalities and policies remains for the moment unanswered.

Hans Schuster
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 November 1973)

CDU labour proposals

The CDU is pressing for a revision of company law with regard to worker participation in management. This would provide for a partnership of worker, investor and company management on a parity basis.

Until these new provisions come into force the following should apply:

- The supervisory board of companies should consist of an equal number of representatives of investors and the labour force.

- In the work force representative group there should be at least one *Arbeiter* (blue-collar employee), one *Angestellte* (salaried employee) and one *leitende Angestellte* (executive with the right of hiring and firing).

- The union and workers council have the right to choose two representatives from outside the company to serve on the supervisory board.

- In a stalemate situation the company board would be able to act without clear mandate.

- In stalemate situations on the board the chairman of the supervisory board would have the casting vote.

- Every citizen should have capital deposits quite apart from the income earned at his job.

The bases for a broadly-based participation in production capital are:

- Legal participation earnings or investment proceeds, additional income with which a worker would be able to buy investment bonds.

- Profit sharing.

The whole process would have to be agreed between the State and both sides of industry.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 20 November 1973)

Kohl ends CDU Hamburg conference in a fighting spirit

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Amid an atmosphere of greater self-confidence than of late the CDU brought their conference in Hamburg to an end. A clear expression of their renewed confidence was the fighting speech made by party Chairman Helmut Kohl.

He said that the congress had shown that the party was the leading political force in the Federal Republic. Moreover delegates at the Congress Centrum warmly applauded the jibes of 'CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss against the government. Finally the conference resolved that the CDU must formulate a new basic programme for its rediscovered role in politics.

In his closing address Helmut Kohl underlined the basic tenets of Christian Democrat policy stressing the duty to respect the freedom of the individual while remembering the need for solidarity of the masses.

He drew very clear lines of demarcation between the CDU and the SPD, stressing that Christian Democrat policies were neither hemmed in by ideology nor rendered old-fashioned by adherence to socialist principles. He said that the CDU based its ideas on the needs of social welfare and constitutional government.

He said that the Federal Republic was not a socialist State and that it was "essential for us to stamp our imprint on the second chapter of its history".

Kohl received a standing ovation from delegates who joined with him in singing the third verse of the *Deutschlandlied*.

In his speech the CDU leader had made a passionate appeal for German unity. He said that German history belonged to the nation as a whole and was not just a series of class struggles. It was a chain of great achievements, but also of great mistakes. "We must recognise both," Kohl cried to the delegates.

"Only then," he said, "will we be proving our solidarity with the Germans on the other side of the Iron Curtain obstinately and unswervingly. Only then will we remain one nation."

Kohl accused the "union parties" antagonists of creating a maelstrom of doubt and uncertainty artificially so that there has been "an almost spectral dissolution of our moral standards, the bases of stability and order and the virtues of citizens who are proud of their country".

Thus, he said, it is a fundamental duty of politics today to create alongside social security a state in which our citizens have courage and confidence in their country.

Constitution Year

The "union" parties want to make next year, the 25th anniversary of Basic Law, Constitution Year.

In the part of his speech dealing with foreign policy Kohl remarked on growing uncertainty about the paths the Federal Republic has taken. Chancellor Willy Brandt has given assurances that Bonn is remaining loyal to the Atlantic Alliance, but there are clear indications within his party that the considerations of NATO are going through a twilight. It is still not certain, Kohl said, which camp within the Social Democrats would gain the upper hand.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 November 1973)



(Photo: Peter Leger/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

■ PEOPLE

Elmar Pieroth - Bonn's active industrialist

Elmar Pieroth sits in room 1001 of the Bundestag skyscraper, on the tenth story of the building nicknamed "Langer Eugen". He points to the room number and the smirk spreading across his face probably indicates that he feels some degree of affinity with the Arabian Nights with their didactic tales about Sinbad the Sailor, Aladdin and his Magic Lamp, Ali Baba and his Forty Thieves.

First or all he draws breath. Yes, he admits without the slightest trace of self-consciousness, he has heard it said that, as an industrialist, he overstates his case on occasions. This is meant to make his behaviour or his claims appear unreasonable. His father said to him more than once: "Take things slowly, boy."

But Conrad Ahlers (SPD), his political rival in the Bad Kreuznach constituency, says that although he does not share Pieroth's political views he deeply respects everything Pieroth has done as an industrialist.

Pieroth, the "industrialists' deputy", takes out his sales list for a random week in October. During the course of this week 714 salesmen have done business for the Pieroth group worth 5.3 million Marks.

Many people, he says, regard him as an upstart. Of course, some people envy him. Pieroth could quote Helmut Schoeck whom he must have heard as a student in Mainz: "Envy is the great regulator for all human relations. Fear of it moderates and modulates an infinite number of actions." The quotation is taken from Schoeck's book *Der Neid und die Gesellschaft* (Envy and Society).

Pieroth admits with a touch of affability that his enthusiasm for politics dates from his childhood. He once wanted to be Chancellor, for instance. He first stood for the CDU Bundestag executive in the sixth electoral period

(1969-1972) and was immediately elected. He and Professor Burgbacher now function as the party's policy spokesmen on property laws.

Pieroth describes himself as one of the few active industrialists in the CDU. He claims to have introduced a sense of partnership into his concern and he hopes that many West Germans can share in the benefits bestowed by capitalism.

It was Pieroth who coined the slogan "Partnership in Profit" for the CDU party congress in Hamburg. He is superficially regarded as a progressive but he himself has stated he would basically like to be a conservative.

There is something fascinating about this man's career. He is not yet forty and yet has a wife and six children. He outlines his past in a characteristic clipped style.

He was born in Münster-Sarusheim near Bad Kreuznach on 9 November 1934. His first name - Elmar - was the result of his mother going to college and becoming interested in poetry, he claims. He denies any connection with the Pierrot, the comic figure of French drama, even though the family is probably of Huguenot origin.

His grandfather had a vineyard six kilometres from Bingen near Burg Layen, a hamlet on the Hunsrück side of the Nahe valley. The cheerful landscape has exerted its influence on the local inhabitants who are a merry bunch despite having to do a good deal of hard slog.

His father had fifty thousand vines - son Elmar has five hundred thousand. Elmar Pieroth does not regard himself as a Rhinelander even though he has his origins in the Rhine province. His accent clearly makes him a native of Rhine-Hesse and the Palatinate.

Elmar Pieroth attended the Stefan Georg High School in Bingen and every

day pushed his bicycle past the Augstein Wine Cellar. The Augsteins were one of the ten most important families in the area and one of their sons, Rudolf, founded and still heads the news magazine *Der Spiegel*.

After taking his school-leaving examinations in 1953, Pieroth was unable to settle down in his father's business. There was no doubt he had a mind of his own.

Pieroth went to Munich and opened a wine shop which did not flourish. A year later, in 1954, he moved to Hamburg where he established a one-man venture in the wine trade. Six years later he had a staff of sixty. Today the Pieroth group employs a full-time staff of 1,700 and covers twelve countries, including Japan and Australia.

After the age of thirty Pieroth's old schoolboy wishes of entering politics came to the surface. He did not sacrifice them to his career as a wine-dealer and industrialist but sublimated them to a certain extent. Pieroth joined the CDU in 1965.

Pieroth swapped his business desk for a seat in a university lecture hall and studied economics and politics in Munich for eighteen months, attending lectures by Erich Preiser, then the advocate of redistribution, and subsequently went to Mainz for two years where he took a degree in economics.

Despite his belief in partnership, Pieroth is of course no Marxist though he quips that while Karl Marx, an inhabitant of Trier, was married in the Protestant church of St Paul in Bad Kreuznach he was baptised in the Catholic Ketzkirche.

A man like Pieroth cannot be encouraged to take things slowly and surely. During his studies from 1965 to 1968 he realised that his staff, many of them reliable classmates from the past, had become so capable of independent work that he was able to enter politics.

Pieroth spent a long time deep in thought. He then joined SPD industrialist Philip Rosenthal as an advocate of capital wealth accumulation for the workers. His staff of six hundred today enjoy full rights of participation in his firm, a limited company.

Pieroth believes that actions speak louder than words. All Pieroth's thoughts



(Photo: Sven Sime)

are recorded in black and white in a system of files divided into seven sections - "The Pieroth social system", contracts, prototype plans, social security, laws, regulations, pensions and additional voluntary welfare contributions - all bearing the Pieroth arms, a stylised eagle and a grape, with the Federal Republic eagle at the top. However, the eagle is looking left, as in the Bundestag, but the right. Pieroth comments that he wants nothing to do with professors who only think and civil servants who only execute other people's wishes.

Pieroth says quite frankly and freely: "Capitalism can only be saved in the long run if capitalists dig deeper into the pockets and grant workers a greater share in their concern's profits."

However, he goes on to say: "One of the most realistic Utopias is overcoming the differences between capital and labour. The laws governing our business concern are built up around capital as the form of security. We therefore need a new set of laws catering for widespread distribution of capital and widespread responsibility. That also demands amendments to the tax and labour laws. We, the CDU, will draw up concrete proposals of this type." Walter Henkel

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 November 1973)

■ LABOUR RELATIONS

Absenteeism - 'the English disease' spreads

Absenteeism was once regarded as a fatalistic natural phenomenon in the working world. But this attitude has changed radically in the last few years. A press spokesman for Manpower claims to have discovered a new European disease, a sort of "English disease" (as Continentals dub the Briton's alleged eagerness to strike) which is now threatening the rest of Europe. The daily *Die Welt* spoke of a sick working mentality while the *Platzmarkt* newsletter called it a tragedy.

A few statistics will illuminate the present state of affairs. In the first quarter of 1973 the proportion of compulsory members of sickness insurance schemes who were unable to work was 6.66 per cent, a rise of 0.57 per cent over the comparable period in 1972.

The Ministry of Labour claims that the amount of time lost due to sickness has tended to increase slightly in recent years. The average proportion of workers sick at any one time in 1969 was 5.1 per cent. About one person in twenty covered by a sickness insurance scheme was therefore absent from work. This proportion rose to 5.6 per cent in 1970, topped to 5.3 per cent in 1971 and dropped off to 5.5 per cent in 1972.

More than ninety per cent of West Germany's workers now belong to sickness insurance schemes and are therefore covered by official statistics. The apparently minor percentage difference over the past five years involves a large number of workers.

Continued from page 4

colourlessness - but it does call out the passionate appeals that Katzer has been making throughout the country in recent months.

"Granting workers an equal share in decision-making is not part of socialist ideology," he claims. "It is solely a Christian and social decision." He therefore believes that the extreme left will be bitterly disappointed about new developments in the CDU.

Whatever the truth of this claim, Hans Katzer is one of those politicians who know what they say. That is why he is sometimes carried away by his own words.

Lothar Beverunge
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 November 1973)

Katzer and his group had been isolated ever since the worker participation debate at the CDU's party congress at Düsseldorf in 1971. After the election reverse of 1971, they were out on a limb until Hans Katzer quashed all rumours of a split by calling for an active and extreme rethinking process in the CDU and constructive argument between the two wings of the party.

The recent bitter struggle within the CDU about the form of party congress resolutions on capital wealth accumulation, land reform and worker participation is due to Hans Katzer among others.

The fact that the North Rhine-Westphalia branch of the party has opted for full parity in the question of worker participation has evidently encouraged Katzer. But his claim that voters were come flocking back once credible decisions have been made in favour of the workers has still to be proved.

The party rank and file are currently adopting his slogans as they hold out the fresh prospect of hope after months of resignation. The party mood does not need Professor Biedenkopf's academic coldness or Helmut Kohl's respectability

Continued on page 5

Statistics published by the Phoenix rubber works in Hamburg illustrate what this can mean in specific instances. The firm claims that more than two thirds of the male labour force and three quarters of the women missed several days or weeks work in 1972.

"Only thirty per cent of our male workers and twenty-five per cent of our female staff had a full record of attendance outside their normal holiday period and did not therefore need to apply for sick pay," the firm comments. Since the laws governing sick pay were extended to blue-collar workers on 1 January 1970, guaranteeing them their full gross wage during the first six weeks of illness, industrialists in this country have tended to put the work "sick" in quotation marks. No absentee is immune from the mistrust of the management.

Nobody denies that the rate of sickness in the Federal Republic has increased in recent years. As trade unions and management use different statistical material, their views on the effects of the sick pay regulations vary.

The trade unions produce their statistics from the figures published by sickness insurance schemes, the employers base theirs on the relatively higher figures of the industrial sickness insurance schemes.

The average rate of sickness recorded by the industrial sickness insurance schemes in 1969 stood at 6.1 per cent, compared with the mean average of 5.1 per cent recorded by sickness insurance schemes in general. In 1970 it rose to 7.2 per cent and then levelled off in 1971 and 1972 to 6.9 and 7.1 per cent respectively.

In the first eight months of this year the difference between the industrial sickness insurance schemes and the other schemes of this type narrowed.

The employers claim that the higher figures recorded by the industrial sickness insurance schemes are due to their closer position to industry. Normally the industrial sickness insurance schemes list cases where a medical certificate has been issued as well as those where a sick worker has rung up his factory or a colleague has informed management that a worker is ill.

But Dr Gerd Carow of the Factory and Works Doctors Associations questions the management claim. Industrial sickness insurance schemes only record those cases

where a medical certificate has been issued, he comments.

As paradoxical as it may sound, the concept of what sickness actually is varies. Just because a person feels ill does not mean that he really is ill. And a person who is ill does not always notice it.

Few doctors will refuse to give a worker a medical certificate if he turns up at the surgery bent double with stomach pains. But an extensive medical examination is required before it is proved that he really is ill.

The trade unions do not share the management view that absenteeism rises in times of full employment. They could not however deny that the amount of sick leave fell visibly during the recession of 1966 and 1967.

Alfred Schmidt, the Trade Union Confederation's chief spokesman on welfare is able to explain this state of affairs: "The threat to health is considerably greater during a boom than in a period of recession. You only have to think of overtime. During a recession on the other hand the worker often puts off going to a doctor."

Employer associations blame sickness insurance schemes for not controlling whether cases of sickness are faked or genuine. Since the sick pay regulations came into force just under four years ago firms have had to continue paying sick workers full wages for six weeks. Only then do the sickness insurance schemes step into the breach. Before 1 January 1970 they had to pay all sick pay where blue-collar workers were concerned.

Employer associations particularly regret the decrease in the number of spot checks on sick workers following the reform of the factory medical service. There was a drop of 82.4 per cent between 1969 and 1972 alone.

Peter Marchal
(Die Zeit, 10 November 1973)

Drop in labour force

The number of German workers (as opposed to foreign workers) in the Federal Republic will probably drop slightly until 1975, increase again between 1976 and 1988 before declining again for a longish period of time, according to a report published by the Institute for Labour Market and Career Research.

The Institute, a section of the Nuremberg-based Federal Labour Bureau, forecasts the highest rise for the period between 1981 and 1983. The decline after 1988 is to be explained by the drop in the birth rate recorded in recent years owing to the spread of the contraceptive pill. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 November 1973)

New regulations governing working conditions

vibration and dangerous gas and dust (these waste products can be neutralised as soon as they are produced);

• Minimum space per worker (in workshops one by one and a half metres) and a minimum ceiling height to prevent workers suffering from claustrophobia and to provide them with the space and air they need to do their work. Office ceilings must be at least 2.50 metres high, workshops up to thirty square metres in area 2.70 metres and larger workshops 3 metres;

• Seating. The seventy-year-old law currently governing the provision of seating for shop assistants will be extended to all jobs where work can be conducted sitting down some or all of the time.

The Labour Ministry Bill also contains

clear provisions on the hygienic conditions at working premises and demands sanitary installations (changing rooms, washrooms and toilets) adequate for the type of work conducted.

Greater attention is to be paid to workers' health by providing rooms where they can congregate during breaks and installations that will allow them to break the monotony of their mental or physical strain.

The Ministry claims to have made progress in the accident prevention and safety sector with its regulations about open-air jobs, especially on building sites and retail stands, and the accommodation of barge crews.

Other regulations deal with the cleaning and maintenance of working premises. The Labour Ministry Bill is issued as a framework law which can be augmented by more comprehensive regulations issued by the Federal states' industrial inspectorates. The new law, the Ministry of Labour claims, will end the division of jurisdiction and the uncertain legal position where working premises are concerned. (Handelsblatt, 5 November 1973)

Trade unions call for State-run career training

The Trades Union Confederations (DGB) plans to fight for a basic and far-reaching reform of career training. The four hundred or so delegates from all the trade unions affiliated to the DGB demanded at the first DGB career training conference that the chambers of trade and industry now responsible for career training should no longer be granted this responsibility under a new career training law.

This demand received the staunch support not only of the delegates but also of DGB Chairman Heinz Oskar Vetter and his deputy Maria Weber (CDU), though it goes much further than the reforms planned up to now by Education and Science Minister Klaus von Dohnanyi.

The government proposes that the chambers of trade and industry should continue to play a role in career training and run the State-controlled examination committees.

The three FDP members of the Cabinet also pressed Dohnanyi to grant the chambers of trade and industry powers enabling them to help select the firms where training courses are conducted.

Delegates to the DGB conference in Essen expressed their opposition to the chambers of trade and industry in view of their past experiences with the career training law now in operation. The chambers of trade and industry have always opposed the unions, they claim, and favoured employers.

The delegates also called for wider distribution to decision-making responsibility in the whole field of education, especially where career training is concerned. The DGB would only agree to State and responsibility control they stated, if there was some guarantee of genuine participation in decision-making for the trade unions, teachers at school, of career training, instructors on the factory floor and the trainees themselves. The DGB is opposed to any merely consultative function.

The delegates also made it plain that career training must be regarded as part of the general education system and that any measures preventing integration in the long term would be opposed by the DGB.

Where the question of finance was concerned, the delegates opted for the transitional solution of a fund to which the concerns themselves would contribute. But the State could not be released from its duty of financing a State training system, they claimed.

The DGB demanded that more attention should be paid to drawing up a list of priorities. Funds should be raised in the long term by way of investment controls and not via taxes. The profits of economic growth must no longer be allowed to flow into the sphere of private consumption but must be diverted into the public sector, delegates demanded.

Jutta Roitsch
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 November 1973)

Unemployment rise

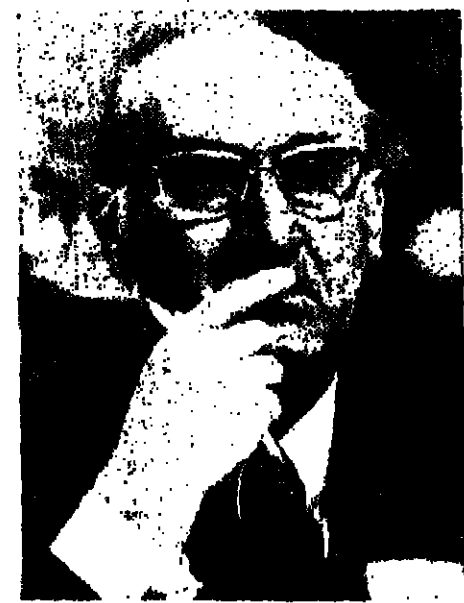
The October unemployment figures are higher than the seasonal average for the first time since 1962. The number of unemployed rose by 47,700 (21.8 per cent) to reach 267,000.

The number of job vacancies dropped by 104,500 (17.1 per cent) to 508,200. The rate of unemployment rose from 1.0 to 1.2 per cent, compared with the figure of 1.0 per cent recorded in October 1972.

Josef Stügel, head of the Nuremberg-based Federal Labour Bureau, commented that wide-scale unemployment was ruled out by the bustling activity of the economy as a whole.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 November 1973)

Hans Katzer's worker participation ideas finally win through



(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Politics was seen in this vein in the CDU's legendary Ahlen programme which the young Hans Katzer helped to draw up after his entry into the party in 1945.

Hans Katzer grew up under the influence of Adolf Kolping, the nineteenth-century Catholic priest who had the interests of the workers at heart. Katzer's

father, a joiner, moved to Cologne from Bohemia, became head of the Catholic *Gesellenverein*, a journeyman's union, reorganised the *Kolpingblatt* newspaper and finally was made administrative director of the Kolping movement.

The Nazi takeover led to a long spell of unemployment for him and the young Hans Katzer was forced to leave high school and become an apprentice in the textile industry. He was eventually drafted into the Third Reich's labour service.

Like so many men belonging to the war generation, Katzer decided soon after receiving a critical wound serving as an officer on the Eastern front that he would make his own political contribution to the formation of a new Germany.

He was one of the co-founders of the Christian Democratic Union, committed himself to trade unionism though from the very onset he drew a line between himself and what he described as the "inhuman face of socialism".

Katzer was a city councillor in Cologne before entering the Bundestag in 1957. In 1965 Ludwig Erhard appointed him Theo Blank's successor as Minister of Labour. Katzer seemed to be at the peak of his career when Kurt Georg Kiesinger's Grand Coalition suddenly collapsed in 1969.

But even when sitting on Opposition benches Katzer invested a good deal of energy into the difficult question of pensions reform. At the same time the state of tension within the CDU grew. Katzer's welfare committees and the party leadership clashed over the aims and methods of the 1972 election campaign.

Katzer and his group had been isolated ever since the worker participation debate at the CDU's party congress at Düsseldorf in 1971. After the election reverse of 1971, they were out on a limb until Hans Katzer quashed all rumours of a split by calling for an active and extreme rethinking process in the CDU and constructive argument between the two wings of the party.

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Continued on page 5

■ COMMERCE

Boom cools but prices continue to rise

It was the toughest programme of measures for restoring economic stability that a democratically elected government could ever hope to push through parliament. Has it worked? Six months have elapsed since this treatment was prescribed. The growing nervousness in Bonn means that the whole thing could turn out to be nothing more than a vain labour of love.

Bonn must be measured by its own yardsticks. Helmut Schmidt, Economic Affairs Minister, repeated many times that it was essential to keep applying the brakes until there was a sign of a downward trend in the rate of price increases.

The only way to stop price rises is to get to the root of the matter and eradicate whatever caused them in the first place. The roots are the money that keeps consumers consuming and maintaining the supply of goods and services.

In an over-exerted economy it is not possible to increase supply without pushing up incomes and prices further. Thus a stabilisation programme should aim at cutting demand, and particularly the demand of businessmen for new investments. The government's package for achieving this involved the stabilisation levy, investment tax, abolition of depreciation with declining rates of depreciation and the Bundesbank's series of measures to cut liquidity.

This package should have made itself felt first and foremost in commercial

DIE ZEIT

vehicle and machine tool manufacture. In both these spheres the announcement of the forthcoming measures prior to 9 May led to rush demand. Then, following the panic ordering in May most customers held off. Fears that the eleven per cent rise in prices as a result of the government measures would not deter customers from investing, since they might suspect that after a couple of years prices would be even higher proved to be unfounded. The package's effects were first shown when the June order figures were published.

These were the statistics: the index of orders in the capital investment goods industries fell from 148 in May to 116 in June and 107 in July, climbing one point to 108 in August. September figures are likely to reflect the trend even more clearly when they are published.

Companies whose production programme is not so well balanced have already felt the effects of fewer orders and had to lay men off.

In vehicle manufacture the productivity index fell from 202 in May to 190 in June and 173 in July. In machinery manufacture there was a drop from 137 in May to 130 in June.

MAN planned short-time working, but was able to drop this at the last minute thanks to a surprise order of considerable size from overseas. A Daimler-Benz spokesman said it was possible to prevent the consequences of the fall-off of orders from affecting employees.

The more a manufacturer of commercial vehicles relies on sales to the building trade the more unhappy his situation is likely to be. The greater his export quota the better his chances, since foreign trade as predicted increased sharply.

Sales of lorries and buses were down in the first nine months of this year by 1.3

This decade, particularly the years after 1975, marks a new phase in the economic relationship between East and West. When the bilateral five-year trade treaties between members of the EEC and the communist bloc's economic grouping Comecon comes to an end next year the joint trade policy of European Community countries towards Comecon will come into full effect.

On the other hand by the mid-seventies the first tangible results of the ten-year agreement between the EEC and Comecon should be available.

DIW, the Berlin based economic research institute, in its latest weekly report, describes the completion of a long-term agreement on cooperation as a marked change in the way the relationship between East and West is regarded by both sides.

Future developments in economic relations will be marked by the fact that there will be a preponderance of cooperative ventures stretching over a longer period than the normal five years. Such projects will, DIW adds, only be possible with the help of considerable loans by the West to the Communist Bloc.

Trade between Comecon countries and the industrial nations of the West increased rapidly last year. At \$19.5

Main points of anti-inflation programme

1. Restrictive credit policy continued.
2. Second slice of the stabilisation loan.
3. Liquid reserves of pension assurance companies frozen.
4. Stabilisation surcharge of ten per cent on income tax over 24,000 Marks annually for single people and 48,000 Marks per annum for marrieds.
5. Investment tax of eleven per cent for maximum of two years. Proceeds frozen.
6. Degressive depreciation on movable capital investment items ordered before 1 May 1974 abolished.
7. Tax deductions on property limited according to provisions of §7, clause 1 of income tax legislation.
8. Tax deductions on detached and semi-detached houses and flats for which building permission is obtained between 9 May 1973 and 1 May 1974 abolished.
9. Pre-payments on income and corporation tax adjusted to the profit situation.
10. Budgetary measures for community expenditure extended.
11. Five per cent of budget to be earned capital.
12. By a "ceiling of indebtedness" the net borrowing by the State to be reduced by 5,500 million Marks.

per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1972. In September alone eighteen per cent fewer lorries were sold.

In the lorry manufacturing industry we hear that nervous competitiveness is now under way, with all the expected effect on prices. But no one is at present prepared to admit that lorries are being sold at below list price. However, without reservations manufacturers are admitting that no price rises are in the pipeline.

The combination of a tough line on credit and the abolition of depreciation in the building trade has hit builders particularly hard. The bankruptcy of the building firm Kun and the Bau-Kreditbank in August showed how hard the trade was affected. At the same time it revealed the weaknesses of financing in the building trade.

It takes a long time for hard times to be converted into bankruptcies, but the building trade association does say that the number of failures in the third quarter of this year was well above normal level. In the first and second quarters there were 231 bankruptcies.

Not all spheres have been hit equally hard by the recession in the building trade. The demand for construction has declined most noticeably in those areas where it was previously at its highest.

The number of hours worked on building sites in August this year was considerably less than in the corresponding month of 1972, with Berlin showing the biggest drop — ten per cent. In Bavaria the decline was 8.9 per cent, in North Rhine-Westphalia 7.6 per cent,

Hamburg seven per cent, Baden-Württemberg 6.5 per cent, Lower Saxony 7.2 per cent, Rhineland Palatinate 2.9 per cent, Hesse 2.7 per cent, Bremen 2.3 per cent and Schleswig-Holstein 2.2 per cent. In Saar was the sole exception with a 2.9 per cent increase in hours of building work carried out.

The national average shows a drop of 6.1 per cent between August 1972 and August 1973.

Fourteen thousand building workers were laid off. The number of vacancies has dropped to 50,000, as was the case prior to the October 1966 recession. With 4.5 per cent fewer people employed in the building sector prices have quietened down. The building trade has called on the government to take steps to ginger the coal crisis.

In the summer consumers showed greater caution. They stocked up at the beginning of the year and only bought essentials later.

The textile and clothing industries were particularly depressed, likewise shoe and furniture manufacturers. These are industries in which the stabilisation policy has brought structural weaknesses to light.

The brakes have braked. Order, productivity, turnover and the labor market have been braked in the most important sectors. Only prices have withstood. Brakes applied in May cannot hope to affect prices before the following year.

Rudolf Heit

(Die Zeit, 16 November 1973)

Trade with Comecon rises again

million it was up by a quarter on the previous year. DIW says, however, that part of this rapid rise must be attributed to the alterations in parity between Community currencies and the dollar. Nevertheless, when such factors were eliminated there was still a net increase of about fifteen per cent, which is way above the overall increase in world trade of 9.5 per cent.

DIW also predicts that the final figures for 1973 will show a considerable increase in East-West trade. Working on the figures issued by the most important Western industrial countries for the first six months of this year the increase should again be in the region of fifteen per cent.

The DIW report states that East-West trade is of far greater significance to the communist economies than to Western industrial nations. Despite the sharp increase in trade the Comecon countries had scarcely been able to improve their position on Western markets at all.

East-West trade made up 24.2 per cent of the total foreign trade of Comecon in 1972, while in OECD countries it was only three per cent. And Comecon imports increased more than twice as rapidly than the corresponding exports in the period covered by the report.

The major Comecon trading partner with the West is the Soviet Union, with about forty per cent of total East Bloc turnover in trade with the West. As a result of the poor development of the Soviet economy exports from the West to Russia increased considerably during 1972. DIW feels this trend has continued throughout 1973.

West German exports to the USSR should have increased once again by thirty per cent this year. America's exports to the USSR are expected to be between twice and three times as high in 1972, breaking the \$1,000 million barrier. In 1972 the figure was just \$547 million.

The Federal Republic was once again one of the main suppliers of credit to the Soviet Union last year. In trade with the Soviet Union, GDR and Poland the country had an export surplus of \$647 million, followed by the United States (then France \$277 million) and Japan (\$175 million).

(Handelsblatt, 15 November 1973)

■ ENERGY

Ruhrgas thrives as European gas network is built up

Gas was once a rather provincial commodity produced in the Ruhr from coking coal. But today's gas executives are part of the jet-set, flying off to Moscow and Teheran to clinch big deals for the supply of natural gas.

The gentlemen in question are members of the board of Ruhrgas, Essen, which has developed from a regional supplier of gas to a powerful force on the all-important energy market as a result of the vogue for natural gas.

In 1962 the gasmen from Essen sold 5,700 million cubic metres of gas. In 1972 the growth alone was greater than the total amount sold ten years previously. Last year sales increased by 6,700 million cubic metres to 32 milliard cubic metres. Each year since 1968 sales have increased by more than 25 per cent. And they would be higher still if more natural gas were available.

Herbert Schelberger, the company chairman, was 65 this year, but the last thing he is thinking of is retiring. Did he predict this astronomical growth? Maybe, but even he did not foresee the tremendous rate of growth in Ruhrgas. However, he did see that only natural gas promised a great future at the outset of the coal crisis.

As the mining industry was cut back so the expansion of Ruhrgas. When there are fewer coking plants in operation there is less gas to be had. But Herr Schelberger, by profession a lawyer, fought against the general resignation in the mining industry and little by little convinced his company's supervisory board of the need to switch attention to natural gas.

Simultaneous with this came the recovery of massive supplies of natural gas in the north of The Netherlands. Ruhrgas was interested like a shot. The Dutch natural gas reserves were sold to the exporting company NAM, which was jointly owned fifty-fifty by Esso and Shell. Even on the path to a natural gas supply the oil giants were lurking. Was there no escaping them?

Ruhrgas had to show that it too could not be an immovable object then an irresistible force. They set out to make it that access to the West German gas market could best be gained via them and by skirting round them. When the national companies attempted to supply the natural gas they had found in Germany to Bremen Ruhrgas put a spoke in their wheel. Ruhrgas offered town gas and commissioned a pipeline to be built to Bremen without delay. For whoever the pipeline got the customers.

In 1964 it looked as though the increased concern had backed a loser. The completed first contract for town gas with Thyssen in Duisburg. More came after Baron Heinrich von Bismarck-Bornemissa had sold half of his capital to Esso and Shell — those who want NAM gas must presumably buy NAM shares through their partners.

A year later Ruhrgas was ready. A share of the capital was taken over by the union Brigitta. Though this name is German in fact its capital belongs to Esso and Shell. Herr Schelberger says today that without this step there would have been no natural gas for Ruhrgas.

Today the supply of gas from the Netherlands did not conform to requirements considering the enormous quantities discovered there — 2,500,000 cubic metres. What the shellies in the Persian Gulf are trying today — to pump extra money for their supplies by inflating the amounts made available —

the Dutch did from the outset. In recent times they have even controlled the amount of gas tapped by German concessionaires to conserve as much gas as possible underground.

Herr Schelberger and his team began to look around for other suppliers. They looked eastwards. The Soviet Union was prepared to barter — their gas for West German pipelines. The only problem was the delay in supplies. The Russians needed the pipes before they could supply the gas. But Mannesmann, the supplier of the pipes, could not wait until Ruhrgas starting receiving payments for gas from its customers.

A banking consortium bridged the gap. With a Western partner this would have been a straightforward business, since there would have been no quibble about paying standard market interest rates. But the East Bloc's ideological banking at interest rates can only be overcome by offering them rates that are attractively low.

Supplies of three milliard cubic metres of natural gas from Russia to West Germany have been negotiated for the first phase of the gas-for-pipelines deal. In the language of Ruhrgas, which still deals in terms of the old town gas with a calorific value of 4,300 per cubic metre these supplies from the Soviet Union are worth as much as six milliard cubic metres, since the Russian gas is 9,200 calories per cubic metre.

The first gas from the Soviet Union has arrived. On 1 October the valve at the West German-Czech border near Waidhaus in the Bavarian Woods was opened. So the south of the country and the west are on a par. But even before the first of this gas was pumped in a new agreement

A remarkable change has come over many people in this and other countries. For many years there was a belief that all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds and that things would continually get better, bigger, faster, cosier and more luxurious.

Now there is a growing feeling that there could be some lean years ahead, times of shortage and austerity.

A society programmed to affluence is beginning to doubt whether it can guarantee wealth for an unlimited period. Fears that there could be less petrol and less oil have obviously led to a new awareness, or at least the beginnings of it.

It would be a mistake to try to convince the public that they are misguided. These fears are justified. This has nothing to do with panic but is far more an act of caution, of keeping eyes open and heads out of the sand, and preparing for the effects of an energy shortage in a highly industrialised State.

This embryonic dearth of energy is not entirely due to oil production cuts and boycotts by Arab countries. Their decision to use petroleum as a political weapon has simply crystallised out a crisis that was already below the surface.

The decision by some oil-producing countries to preserve their reserves of crude oil and spread them out more thinly had been just round the corner for some time. And as industrialised nations had done little or nothing to cut back the rapid rise in energy consumption it was inevitable that an impasse would occur sooner or later. It came sooner.

So in the foreseeable future energy will not be available in a bottomless barrel. Even if the Arabs decided to get the oil flowing at full speed ahead tomorrow we should not return to the good old days

had been signed and sealed. Mannesmann is sending a second consignment of pipes and in a few years time Ruhrgas will be taking delivery of not three but seven milliard cubic metres of Russian natural gas.

How secure is this supply of gas from the Soviet Union? Herr Schelberger's answer is the same as one heard from many quarters: The Russians have always proved as good as their word where trade treaties are concerned. Why should natural gas prove an exception? Moreover the Soviet Union is only one supplier. Ruhrgas is constantly seeking to diversify its sources of supply.

Despite faith in the honesty of the Russians Ruhrgas would have liked to have seen the pipeline supplying the French with Soviet gas passing through the Federal Republic, since it is never the best to be the one at the end of a pipeline. This plan has not come about, however. The pipeline to France runs through Italy.

However, Herr Schelberger has cut the French corns in another direction: a pipeline carrying Dutch natural gas to Italy that was originally intended to run through Belgium and France is now running via the Federal Republic and Switzerland to its destination. And Ruhrgas has an option to tap some of this gas.

After the Dutch and Soviet gas the next stage in the development of this form of power for West Germany is liquefied natural gas from Algeria. At Monfalcone near Trieste a terminal is being built for liquid gas. The fuel is turned back into gaseous form at the terminal and continues its journey by pipeline to this country, ending in the main at Karlsruhe. Thus Europe is building up a natural gas grid that is diversifying supplies as far as possible and thus making them safer from the whims of suppliers.

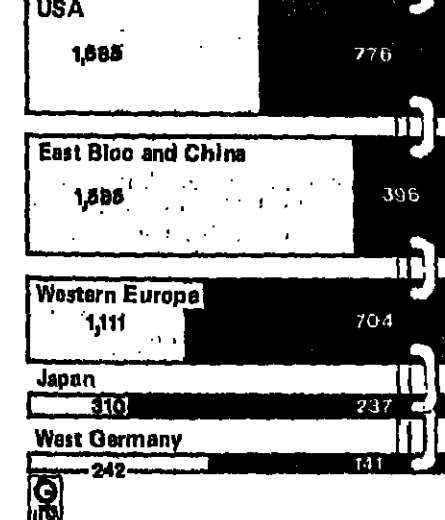
• Soviet gas via Waidhaus to West Germany.

• Soviet gas via Baumgarten on the Austria-CSSR border to Italy and via Gemona, Kiefersfelden and Karlsruhe to France.

Heinz-Günter Kemmer

Dependence on oil

Primary energy consumption 1972 in million-ton oil units



• Algerian gas via Monfalcone and Kiefersfelden to the Federal Republic.

• Algerian gas via Fos-sur-Mer near Marseilles to the Federal Republic.

• Dutch gas from Drenthe province via Aachen, Karlsruhe, Rheinfelden and Switzerland to Italy.

• Dutch gas from the North Sea via the mainland.

• Norwegian North Sea gas via Emden to the Federal Republic.

Gas from the North Sea is the fourth pillar on which Ruhrgas is built today. And already the gasmen in Essen are dreaming up a new source. Iran wants to supply gas to West Germany. But so far this scheme is at a disadvantage because of the huge distances involved. Algeria for one is considerably nearer.

But as oil from the Middle East gets dearer the position as regards Iranian gas becomes more favourable. Ruhrgas has been going through some lean years, but as its Chairman points out, it is now so overfed it can hardly move.

Heinz-Günter Kemmer

(Die Zeit, 16 November 1973)

All sectors of society must prepare for oil impasse

when the supply of fuel and power to industry and private households was no problem.

It is certainly true to say that the Arabs cannot afford to put the screws on too hard for too long since they would be damaging themselves and the Third World but they can cause industrial countries acute difficulties for some time to come. The Japanese believe that by the end of the year their economic growth could be down to nil and the same fate could await Europe.

A slight recession in the automobile industry which has already been noted could be speeded up by rapidly rising petrol prices and possibly petrol rationing. The exports prospects of the West German car industry remain good, but it is hopeless relying on this trend, since an oil impasse would affect this branch of industry and all the many suppliers to it.

Another industry to be hit is chemicals which relies on oil as a raw material. A recession in these two industries alone could endanger a number of jobs.

Economic policymakers will have to keep a weather eye open for these potential dangers. They must arrange in time for declines in one branch to be compensated by stepped up activity in another. This country's policy of maintaining full employment could suddenly be faced with new problems.

In certain circumstances a far broader field of vision would be necessary. If it becomes essential to tap new sources of energy such as atomic power as quickly as possible extensive investments will be essential.

Funds for this would have to be drawn from other sources. This could affect private consumer activity or other investments that are also considered essential or at least desirable. In other words the government could be forced to revise its priorities.

If money had to be found to expand nuclear power stations and undertake research projects into more varied uses of coal other sectors such as road building, houses and other social facilities might have to suffer. It is time we started considering these possibilities.

Every tense situation such as this provides incentives for the State to extend its sphere of influence and take over new territory. One example of this is the emergency energy legislation passed by the Bundestag in the second week of November in great haste.

These provisions make for State interference in a sphere in which the State has in the past avoided meddling. Experience has shown that measures brought in during an emergency often survive when the emergency has passed and are difficult to eradicate.

A shortage of crude oil and petroleum products to the tune of ten, twenty or thirty per cent means more than a lack of everyday comforts. In a free industrial society it means a challenge for all, the private citizen and social groupings as well as the government. They cannot react to the situation too soon.

Heinz-Murmann

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 November 1973)

RESEARCH Oceanologists confer in Düsseldorf

Interocean 73, the second international congress and exhibition of oceanology and utilisation of marine resources, was held from 13 to 18 November in Düsseldorf.

The main topics discussed at the congress were how to gain raw materials from the sea, how to combat marine pollution and the progress that has been made in oceanological techniques.

Sixty-nine out of the 109 papers delivered at the congress were the work of scientists from the host country, 21 papers were read by specialists from the United States, five contributors came from Japan, four from France and five from Great Britain.

The exhibition that accompanied the congress demonstrated the role played and the significance achieved by oceanology and marine engineering these days.

At a press conference Professor Knippa noted that by the end of the decade Western Europe will, at the most optimistic estimate, derive twenty per cent of its petroleum requirements from North Sea deposits.

Britain, on the other hand, will be self-supporting as regards natural gas, and even this country will be able to call on North Sea gas finds to meet between fifteen and twenty per cent of its requirements.

Some twenty oil rigs are currently drilling in the North Sea, Professor Knippa continued. Newcomers will need to be built if their number is to be increased, new designs being in any case necessitated by waves up to thirty metres high that are not uncommon in the North Sea. Nowadays a fully-equipped semi-submersible rig costs between seventy and eighty million Marks to construct, 90,000 Marks a day to charter and a further 70,000 Marks a day for materials, supplies and other services.

Papers delivered at the congress included reports indicating the feasibility of processing manganese deposits mined from the seabed. Domestic exhibitors, claimed Dr Späing, could point with pride to the position they have attained in the latest pattern of oceanological developments.



Deep-sea compression chamber for rescue operations at sea

(Photo: NOWEA)

Some firms are in a position to base their work on previous direct experience; others utilise their specialised knowledge of mining and aviation.

Oceanological work centres round the extraction of solid mineral raw materials from the seabed, the development of equipment to exploit submarine reserves of petroleum and natural gas, surveying and charting, geophysics and prospecting techniques, diving, desalination, fishery, electrical engineering and propulsion units for underwater purposes, conservation of the maritime and coastal environment and marine research in general.

Speaking on behalf of an industrial association comprising firms involved in oceanological work, Dr Heierhoff noted that off-shore oil prospecting is coming to assume increasing importance. Off-shore prospecting is still in its early days and according to a United Nations estimate the possible off-shore reserves are every bit as substantial as those underground. Dr Heierhoff was critical of the non-existence in this country of techniques for extracting ore from seabed deposits and of the negligible progress made in processing underwater mineral deposits.

Oil rigs and pipeline-laying vessels built by shipyards in this country, he continued, are almost invariably built under licence. In the long term, Dr Heierhoff stated, the country's target ought not to be to turn and fit, to build

and assemble in shipyards, factories and workshops using nothing but techniques that have been developed by others.

The oceanological industry has submitted proposals to both the Science and the Research Ministries for systematic study of off-shore techniques on which this country is not too far behind others.

Promising sectors include the development of rigid platforms for depths of over 140 metres (460ft), of floating rigs for greater depths at the edge of shelves, of mobile units for the liquefaction of natural gas and of systems for carrying out underwater work.

It is not merely a matter of lobbying for government funds to cover the cost of industrial projects. The main is to set in motion a technological process that currently exceeds the power and potential of industry on its own.

This initial boost would provide the country with the technological know-how to play a significant part in the search for and exploitation of submarine deposits of petroleum and natural gas.

The home industry must be developed to the point at which it is internationally competitive in a forthcoming market for off-shore goods and services worth an optimistic estimate of 30,000 million Marks a year.

Government allocations so far have regrettably had little effect on the international position of this country's oceanological and allied industries.

(Handelsblatt, 14 November 1973)

Artificial island to be built in the North Sea

An artificial island is to be built on the North Sea under the aegis of the Ministry of Research and Technology. It will form a focal point of the experimental grid of North Sea and Baltic measuring stations being set up with the aid of Ministry grants.

The island will cost an estimated 27 million Marks and construction contracts have already been awarded by a Hamburg consortium of civil engineers specialising in oceanological work and sponsored by the government agency that maintains the nuclear ore freighter *Otto Hahn* and the sealab off the North Sea holiday island of Sylt.

The foundations, tubular steel framework and superstructure are to be prefabricated and assembled in the North Sea by means of a specially developed procedure in five to ten days next summer.

The tower will be over fifty metres (165ft) tall and erected on the seabed at a depth of thirty metres some 75 kilometres (forty miles) north-west of Heligoland, the red-cliffed island in the North Sea that stands guard over the approaches to the Weser and Elbe estuaries and the Kiel Canal.

The construction system would also be useful for oil pumping stations. A feasibility project has just been commissioned by the Ministry of Research.

The artificial platform in the North Sea will be used for experiments connected with the projected seven automatic measuring buoys designed to speed up the relaying of data to the hydrographic institute, the meteorological service and flood warning department.

It will be staffed by a crew of six and up to sixteen scientists who in addition to functioning as a kind of environmental police force will supply other research facilities along the coast with off-shore oceanological data.

Work on the foundations is shortly to begin in Cuxhaven. They will consist of hollow octagonal containers made of reinforced concrete and about seventy metres in diameter and four metres high.

Together with the 35-metre steel framework the foundations will be prefabricated on two pontoons and towed out to sea. The compartments of the foundations will then be flooded and the structure lowered to the seabed by three cranes.

The superstructure will then be added. Quarters and service facilities will be in three decks, the whole being a rectangular structure with sides 26 metres long.

The upper deck will contain machine rooms, workshops, galley and mess, the lower deck laboratories and fourteen cabins. The tank deck will store fuel, sea water, fresh water and sewage.

Every effort is being taken to ensure that the platform brings no influence to bear on the natural environment, even the water that is used on board will be partially purified after use and stored away in tanks for periodic removal by supply vessels.

For water and seabed samples there is a central shaft fitted out with winches and two cranes. Radar and fog signals form part of the equipment in order to warn shipping in the event of danger.

The elevation of the platform above sea-level has been so devised that it will stay clear of the water even if the highest tide of the century were to descend on the artificial island.

The concrete honeycomb foundation structure is to be completed next April. The foundations are to be towed into position in June and assembled in a space of five to ten days. The finished platform is to be taken into service in late summer.

(Die Welt, 12 November 1973)

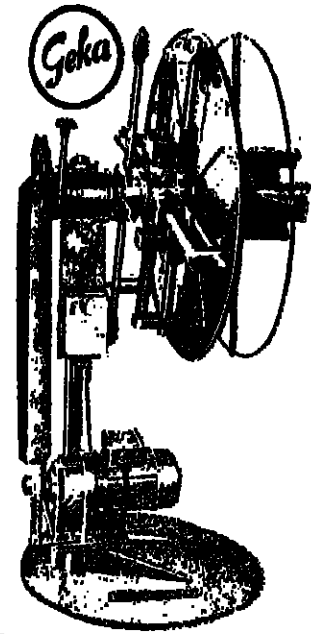
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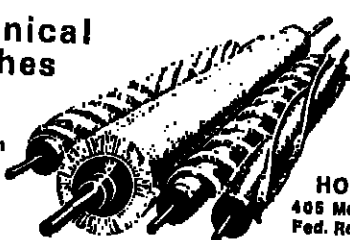
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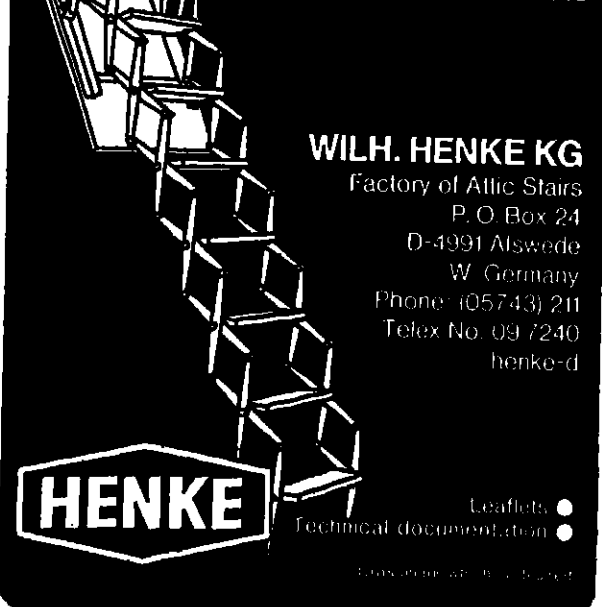
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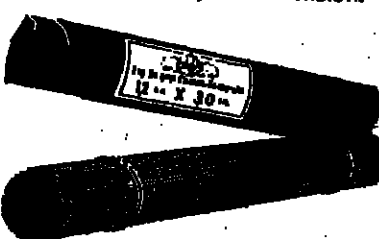
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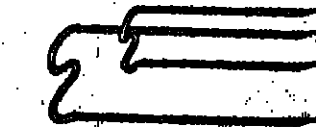
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Water purification becomes costlier and more complex

sediment. As a rule the water is then pebble-filtered again.

Another, costlier process is that of aeration, during which iron and manganese are oxidized and other substances affecting the smell and taste of the water are eliminated. In its wake the water is either carbon-filtered or returned to the water-table.

Last but not least there is oxidation by ozone combined with filtration by means of active carbon, which has so far proved the most effective means of absorbing toxins of all kinds.

Purifying water in this way presupposes, however, that the quality of the surface water does not deteriorate further. But the river water and the water that filters through to the water-table are regularly analysed.

The water is passed through fish tanks (shades of the coalminers' canary), subjected to chemical analysis, pollution

checks are made (a good deal more could be done in this respect) and every effort is undertaken to keep tabs on every harmful substance in the water.

This last point involves difficulties. Some 500 new chemical compounds a year are manufactured, according to the Federal government's environmental programme. Sooner or later they make their presence felt in the water cycle. Yet manufacturers are under no obligation to provide the authorities with satisfactory methods of analysing and identifying their presence in water before commencing production and marketing.

Water purification is dealt with in detail at the Berlin Industrial Fair, including desalination procedures. American, French and British exhibits enlarge on a picture complemented by measurement and analysis equipment.

There can be little doubt that the technological potential exists to ensure that drinking-water remains fit to drink. It is merely a matter of rising costs. A cubic metre of drinking-water from the Rhine costs 95 pfennigs. Water from the relatively pure reservoirs of the Saaland region costs sixteen pfennigs less.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 November 1973)

Drinking-water from the Rhine? The very idea seems most unsavoury. Yet some twenty million people in this country, Holland, France and Switzerland owe much or most of the water they drink to Old Man River - and a dirty old man he looks to the naked eye!

The water that issues from the taps of houses in Düsseldorf, for instance, is eighty to ninety per cent Rhine water, and the raw material needs costly processing to ensure that the end product is not the murky brew that flows through the city.

This water is not piped directly from the river, however. It is filtered through special layers of soil along the river bank and finds its way to the water-table. This process of natural filtration rid the water of bacteria, viruses and other foreign bodies suspended in the precious liquid.

It is then pumped to the surface and further treated as required, either filtered over pebbles and chlorinated before being returned to the water-table or given an admixture of flocculent substances such as ferrous chloride or aluminium sulphate. These substances coagulate with other impurities, as it were, and form a

THE ARTS

Traumstadt-
Schaaf's new
film

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Johannes Schaaf's third film *Traumstadt*, the successor to *Tatort* and *Trotta*, cost 2.1 million Marks. Like *Trotta*, it is the film of a book, in this case Alfred Kubin's fantastic novel *Die andere Seite*, written in 1909.

Kubin wrote of the decline of a dream world enjoying apparently total freedom and governed by uncanny macabre forces that are never seen. Schaaf has tried to capture the atmosphere with realistic cinematic methods and has set the action in the present.

Schaaf approaches the world of decaying beauty found in Bernhard Wicki's *Das falsche Gewich* and Rudolf Noelle's film version of *Das Schloss*. Audiences will often be reminded of these two films.

Foreign directors such as Grzegorz Krolkiewicz in the Polish film *Na Wylot* (which was awarded a prize at the Mannheim Film Festival last October) or, going back further in time, Orson Welles in his film version of *The Trial* fell back on the stylistic methods of German Expressionism when dealing with subjects set in this period.

Remarkably enough, German directors today indulge in extensive realism when filming fantastic material. It is almost as if they are trying to compete with Hollywood and take over the Hollywood style aiming at the international reception of American films. Either that or the old stylistic ideals of the Ufa film company are still prevalent in East and West.

In the best Hollywood tradition, Schaaf has engaged a splendid actor for the lead role — the Swede Per Oscarsson — and given him Rosemarie Fendel as his sensitive partner. The German-Czech ensemble for the other roles has also been carefully selected.

Eberhard Schoener provides a daring musical potpourri, first of all combining well-known Classical pieces with the latest ballads and then confronting audiences at the end of the film with squeaky alienated descants corresponding to the apocalyptic scenes on the



A scene from Traumstadt

(Photo: Constantin)

celluloid. Vandenberg's camera direction is as expert as usual.

And yet the film is neither disconcerting nor enchanting. Schaaf has aimed too much at success by trying to make the film understandable to the general public at every stage of proceedings.

The plot can be outlined in a few sentences. A Munich artist, unable to come up with any brainwaves when faced with an empty canvas, flees the city with his wife and the hundred thousand Marks provided by a fantastic travel agent.

After crossing an exotic range of mountains he arrives in a dreamy mediaeval city (Prague) where there is no money and all wishes are fulfilled. But this freedom culminates in total permissiveness and ends in downfall.

The climax of the action is a banquet in which mass sexual excess is hinted at against the background of musical extracts ranging from Schütz to Grieg and literary quotations ranging from Schiller to Shakespeare.

Towards the end the film gains in its powers of artistic expression, a rare feature in the cinema. The wife's journey to death strapped to a mystic white stallion and finally exposed on the treetops to the grey of the heavens is as suggestive in effect as the hero's visit to the zoo where he is allowed a short look at scenes of perversion and torture.

Here at last allowances are made for the audience's powers of intelligence by not overburdening the film with total explanation. The individual spectator is credited with at least some powers of interpretation. Art is being able to leave things out. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 November 1973)

Andreas Weber's *Mens sana in corpore sano* (Cartoon: A. Paul Weber)Heinrich Böll
stands down

DIE WELT

Heinrich Böll, head of the Federal Republic and International Pen Club for almost five years, does not propose to stand for re-election as president at the next International Pen Club Congress.

His decision was made for personal reasons, he explained, not by a mood of resignation or disappointment. Heinrich Böll now plans to devote himself more to writing.

No new date has so far been fixed for the next International Pen Club Conference which was originally planned for early December in Israel. The congress was postponed for a few months at Böll's instigation so that it could still be held in Israel at a future date when the political situation is not so tense.

Böll also stated that he would welcome the admittance of the Soviet Writers Association into the International Pen Club. But he stressed that the Writers Association had not yet made any clear statement on the issue and the conditions for entry put forward by Moscow did not appear acceptable. The main point of controversy was Russia's call for the exclusion of the Exile Pen Club.

(Die Welt, 7 November 1973)

80-year-old cartoonist A. Paul Weber
produces social comment calendar

Andreas Paul Weber, the well-known master of the satirical cartoon, celebrated his eightieth birthday on 1 November. Born in Thuringia, he has lived in seclusion since 1936 in the small Schleswig-Holstein village of Schreiersta-ken.

Weber first made a name for himself in the twenties with his illustrations of Hans Sachs' carnival scenes, Goethe's *Reinecke Ruch* and Grimmshausen's *Stripteistina*.

He then turned his satirical talents to the political events of that era.

Weber originally preferred the woodcut though he later turned exclusively to lithography, a technique that allowed him to communicate his thoughts spontaneously on to the stone used in the lithographic process. Weber has illustrated over sixty books and has regularly published a "Critical Calendar" since 1959.

Children's book
exhibition in
Bremen

Visitors to Bremen's historic Town Hall were greeted by a colourful scene. More than eleven hundred children's books collected by the International Children's Book Library, Munich, to mark the Year of the Book in 1972 were on show. The exhibition has already been on tour in Budapest and Brussels and will soon move on to Bordeaux.

Books from 44 countries are featured. Among countries represented are the Soviet Union, the United States, Turkey, Israel, Australia, Thailand, Japan, South Africa, Eastern European and South American States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic.

An exhibition featuring such an extensive geographic range cannot be representative. The selection was made by correspondents of the International Children's Book Library. They must choose books that have become classics or could become so in future.

Among the thirty books from the Federal Republic visitors to the exhibition will therefore find Erich Kästner's *Emil und die Detektive*. But children's books such as Hans-Georg Noack's *Rolltreppe abwärts* and Ursula Wölfel's *Die grauen und die grünen Felder* are also featured.

German authors sell better abroad. Kästner and James Krüss for instance register higher sales in the Soviet Union than on the home market. But children's books from Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia and the Anglo-Saxon world have always been successful in the Federal Republic.

Recently there has been an exchange of children's books between America and the Soviet Union. Japan also plays a role. Iran has begun building up a systematic selection of children's literature.

New trends in children's books rarely appear in isolation. Walter Scherf, head of the International Children's Book Library, comments: "The most significant and pronounced changes in style and subject matter is to be found in the United States, Sweden and the Federal Republic. They are usually prompted by the desire for emancipation. Curiously enough, the diametrically opposite position is taken up by the Communist and ultra-conservative States."

The number of books dealing with sociological subjects has risen even more. They are often unauthorized in the

Continued on page 11

Weber's latest work of social criticism appeared just in time for his birthday. The 27 lithographs of his *Critical Calendar* for 1974, published by Bruckmann Verlag, Munich, pillory with undiminished irony the excesses of our affluent society, the trendy fashion of indulging in art, political events and general human frailty.

Texts by Bertolt Brecht, Christian Morgenstern, Immanuel Kant and Ernest Hemingway provide passing commentaries to Weber's cartoons.

A museum containing the work of A. Paul Weber was recently opened in Ratzburg. Weber, a professor and the holder of the Federal Order of Merit, received birthday greetings from many quarters — and not only from his friends and patron President Gustav Heinemann.

(Die Welt, 1 November 1973)

THE ARTS

Hamburg presents 75
years of German art

Professor Werner Hofmann, Curator of the Hamburg Kunsthalle, is one of the most important art theoreticians living. At the Kunsthalle he often has an opportunity to put his theories into practice, the main limitation being a shortage of cash.

Last season his "Nana" exhibition was a new concept, an exhibition built up around one picture. This winter he has altered the framework with the exhibition "Kunst in Deutschland 1898-1973" (Art in Germany ...). He and his team took a year to devise and collect works for this exhibition.

The exhibition has been designed according to very strict rules. Each of the past seventy-six years (inclusive) is

escaping reality and bringing them to a new awareness."

The exhibition does not go deeply into the part played by these pictures in art history. The pictures were chosen for their relevance to the time in which they were painted, as the Oskar Schlemmer picture at the beginning shows. Quality was not a major consideration. The pictures representative of 1937 and 1938 are a horrendous example of this — Adolf Ziegler's two virgins *Earth and Water* and Arno Breker's bronze herald show the agonies through which art was going at the time.

But these negative examples are exceptions. The list of 76 artists contains many highly respected names: Corinth, Liebermann, Modersohn-Becker, Koschka, Nolde, Barlach, Arp, Dix, Wols, May, Bissier, Grieshaber, Bill, Klapheck, Hoehne, Mack, Antes, Alvermann, Janssen, Rot, Neuenhausen ... The big names in German art are represented.

Although the collection of pictures does occasionally give the impression of having been thrown together somewhat fortuitously it does make up an entity as a programme of art that has more to offer than a few pretty pictures.

The way the exhibition has been arranged it is possible for visitors to personalise it, seeing what picture was representative of their year of birth and so on.

Werner Hofmann has remained true to his precept of devising exhibitions that give food for thought rather than a delight to the eye. It is necessary to read about the background as much as to look at the exhibits. To each year a page of text is devoted, and opposite it the picture or sculpture representing that year and a few notes about trends and developments. The catalogue is so interesting that one can be lured into moving from page to page rather than exhibit to exhibit.

The exhibition is of a highly educational order and it is a pity that it is not able to spread its wings further. It was made possible by an all too rare act of patronage. Mobil Oil Germany is celebrating its 75th anniversary and made the exhibition possible. The sponsors gave the Kunsthalle a completely free hand.

Erika Brenken
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 November 1973)

Gerhard Marcks' *Prometheus Bound II* done in 1948

(Photo: Katalog)

represented by one work and one work alone. Each of the 76 artists is represented only once.

It begins with an art nouveau idyll by Wassiljewa's Heinrich Vogeler from 1898 entitled *Heimkehr* (Homecoming). It is an emotional picture with a young couple on the courtyard classes in front of a peaceful landscape. It is as beautiful as it is sentimental.

This sophisticated gallop through time-quarters of a century of art ends with a four-door locker in iron, by Joseph Beuys. The cage with the name *Ploche* represents the year 1973 AD.

In between Vogeler and Beuys there are some fine surprises — which picture represents which year? Some people will find their expectations fulfilled, while others will have theirs dashed. Groans are likely to be as common as ahs of delight.

Anyone who is expecting a glittering galaxy of stars from the past 75 years is in for a let-down. The catalogue reveals the yardsticks that have been set in selecting works for the exhibition.

First Georg Dehio is quoted: "To understand German art means to understand German, our innate qualities and what Fate has made of us, what we have created and what we have acquired, what we have achieved and what we have failed in, the luck that has blessed us, the losses that have dogged us — all in all German art is irrevocably bound up with the history and the processes of living in Germany."

The second quotation that sums up the criteria for selecting works is from Weimann himself: "Only art that has become a problem in itself is capable of leading and irritating a public bent on

Hans Baluschotz' *Homecoming* painted in 1899Theatre in exile discussed at
Berlin conference

The exile of the artists who fled the country during the Nazi era did not end with their return to these shores. This is the most important conclusion, depressing though it be, reached by the conference "Theater im Exil 1933 to 1945" organised by the Berlin Academy of Arts.

Under the thoughtful and tactful chairmanship of Walther Schmieding writers and actors who went into exile during the Third Reich discussed their fate for five days. They included Lotte Lenya, Fritz Hochwälder, Hedda Zinner, Curt Bois, Johanna Hofer-Kortner, Rudolph Spitz and Friedrich Torberg. Also present at the conference were experts on drama and literature.

The meeting brought together all types of people who had suffered from being cut off from their homeland and native tongue, and young people to whom the dark days of Hitler's Reich are another chapter in the history books.

There was certainly explosive material aplenty. For too many years the exiles have been neglected. Smart young academics pooh-pooh serious research into their plight. The accounts given by the exiles are naturally coloured by emotions and young people tend to pass them off as sagas of heroes. The conference, prepared by Walther Huder, the Academy's archivist, did not succeed in creating communication.

It was precisely the way exiles and researchers talked past each other that revealed the facts about the shortcomings of recent research into the exiles and their years of banishment. It was a sad moment for the literary and dramatic historians of the Federal Republic as the

Bonn bumper
art show

Bonn's biggest ever art exhibition will be held in the Beethovenhalle from 14 to 27 December. The West German Academic Exchange Service in cooperation with the Bonn city authorities is presenting the works of thirty of its most famous protégés from fourteen different countries as far apart as Australia and America.

Among the works to be exhibited will be paintings by Shusaku Arakawa (Japan), Marcel Broodthaer (Belgium), Jorge Castillo (Spain), Robert Filliou (France), Daniel Spoerri and Franz Gertsch (Switzerland), Richard Hamilton and Edward Paolozzi (Britain) and Edward Kienholz (USA).

(Die Welt, 16 November 1973)

actresses, dramatics and directors had to point out that for nearly twenty years no one had taken much interest in their documents and reminiscences.

Bitterly the exiles pointed out that in the fifties the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt) had shown great diplomatic zeal in attempting to stifle one of the most successful German-speaking exile companies, the "Freie Deutsche Bühne" in Argentina.

It was as if this meeting in Berlin gave many an artist who had been living in exile for years a chance to speak out after prolonged oppression. But the conference hovered between confessions and footnotes on theatrical history and seldom got to the heart of the matter, namely what effect did and does the theatre in exile have on the repertoire and style of acting at German theatres since the War.

The more than 1,500 photos, posters, stage models, costumes, letters, scripts and documents that Walther Huder produced for the exhibition with an eye to political and social history showed clearly what the conference only hinted at, namely that the experiences of exile have left quite a mark on the German theatre since 1945.

Despite Gründgens, despite Hilpert the artists who remained in this country did not have the power to create a new style. This was left to those who fled, even those who were not able to work in their place of asylum. They maintained the power, passion and moral energy of the German theatre prior to 1933 — Brecht, Piscator, Kortner, Langhoff, Bergner, Moshelm, Giese.

This exhibition presented to the public posthumous works of men of the theatre who had been forced into exile — Ludwig Berger, Ernst Deutsch, Fritz Kortner and Leonard Steckel.

This material will help to correct the anomaly expressed by theatre historian Hans-Christof Wichter at the beginning of the conference, which had still not been corrected by the end: "We know the theatre of Goethe's days better than we do that of the German émigrés between 1933 and 1945."

Rolf Althaus

(Die Zeit, 16 November 1973)

Continued from page 10
positive and necessary sense of the world while the extreme anti-authoritarian books by ultra-left-wing collectives have largely disappeared from the market.

The subjects dealt with by these committed writers include the environment and its hostility to children, the conflicts caused by the generation gap, drugs and war.

Of course there are also publications which are written in an attempt to adapt to the latest fashion. Susanne Jährling

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 November 1973)

Franz Marc's *Yellow Cow* painted in 1911

MEDICINE

New method of measuring blood pressure

In 1896 Italian paediatrician Scipione Riva-Rocci invented an apparatus to measure blood pressure that has since been named after him. Since then doctors throughout the world have strapped a rubber cuff around their patients' upper arms, inflated it, felt the pulse and then slowly let the air out. Finally they look at the reading on a manometer and record the patient's blood pressure with a figure something like "150:90 RR" (Riva-Rocci).

Riva-Rocci's apparatus has been improved a number of times since but the principle has remained the same. Seventy-two years passed before K.

Bachmann and his team invented blood pressure telemetrics.

A catheter with a small membrane containing a wire is inserted into one of the large arteries. The bloodstream sweeps across the membrane which bends according to the amount of pressure.

The wire beneath the membrane follows this movement and changes its powers of electrical conduction as it is stretched. The amount of conduction and its upward or downward trend is conveyed to a modulator the patient has attached to his back along with a small transmitter.

The measurements are recorded by a receiver installed in a hospital so that the changes in blood pressure can be observed as the patient lies down, stands up, climbs steps, descends staircases, eats or sleeps during a period of 6, 24 or 48 hours.

Bachmann's apparatus, attached at first to specific cardiology patients, is also being continually improved. The measuring apparatus is being made smaller according to the principles of aerospace technology and today is no more than a few millimetres in length.

A three-way tap attached to the skin above where the artery is pierced risks the intra-arterial parts of the system so that no clotting occurs.

The accumulator-run transmitter on the patient's back and the receiver equipment have also been improved. The patient is no longer disturbed by the tube inserted into his artery or the transmitter on his back and the doctor need not convert the measurements but can read the systolic and diastolic blood pressure from a direct thermic writer whenever he wishes.

During the past three years short-term (five to ten minutes) and long-term (anything up to several days) measurements have been recorded of the blood

pressure of healthy human guinea-pigs at Mainz Hospital.

As was long presumed, researchers discovered that a single measurement of blood pressure under the old Riva-Rocci system did not present an adequate guide to the patient's state of health. The "emotional fluctuations" of blood pressure are much more pronounced than was once thought, even in relaxed conditions.

Professor Hanns-Peter Wolff, head of Mainz Hospital, recommended doctors to take their patients' blood pressure at least twice a week, in the morning, in the evening, when the patient is standing up and when he is lying down.

Addressing the Symposium on Current Problems of Hypertension in Mainz, a conference he originated, he stated that only then could something be said about the patients' blood pressure, unless of course it had been found to be extremely high or extremely low when the first reading was taken.

Because of the catheter inserted into the artery, blood pressure telemetrics is unsuitable for day-to-day medical practice. Riva-Rocci's bloodless method will be retained.

But long-term measurements by the "bloody" method have revealed that the day-time fluctuations and day-night rhythm of the blood pressure differ from what was previously assumed.

Recently, series of pharmacological examinations have been conducted to analyse patients' blood pressure when standing and lying down and, in the case of patients with hypertension, after taking antihypertensive drugs.

The findings were recently published in Mainz. Some antihypertensive drugs reduce blood pressure while the patient is at rest in a standing or lying position while others prevent a rise under normal conditions of everyday stress. The alpha-methyl DOPA group takes up a position midway between these two extremes. In general it can be said that blood pressure telemetrics is a suitable method of controlling the overall treatment of hypertension.

Friedrich Deich
(Die Welt, 7 November 1973)

Scientists discover flight does not affect heart pacemakers

The prime aim of the experiment was to discover whether flight equipment caused, any irregularities in the functioning of pacemakers and whether the pacemakers in their turn had any influence on radio communications or any other electronic equipment on board.

Tests were first conducted on the ground. As Dr Hans Hohlweck, a doctor of engineering at the Aerospace Institute, wrote in the *DFVLR-Nachrichten*, a team of technicians and doctors made use of a Boeing 707 when parked in its hangar for the night.

The plane's engines and all flight electronics were switched on. The patient's EKG was then recorded in a state of rest at the airport restaurant, on approaching the aircraft, walking around the aircraft a number of times, climbing the gangway, sitting down more or less in the centre of the fuselage, visiting the toilet, entering the cockpit from where the radio operator was speaking with the control tower, leaving the aeroplane and finally back in the airport restaurant.

The researchers found that the EKG always remained constant. Radio communication with the control was not even disturbed with the patient with the pacemaker sat in the cockpit.

The doctors and technicians obtained similar findings when they took three-

hour flights in a Beechcraft King Air training machine, a two-motor turboprop aircraft with the same electronics as the Boeing 737.

From this they concluded that, as far as pacemakers were concerned, heart patients could fly in modern aircraft without any inhibitions.

However one reservation must be made, though not directly connected with flying itself. The technicians examined the behaviour of heart pacemakers during the electronic arms detection procedure in use at most airports since the upsurge in hijacking.

They discovered that one type of heart pacemaker (the Metronic 5843 Demand), became less effective. The rate of beats per minute fell to sixty, the built-in safety limit. Seven other types of pacemaker tested were not affected.

But this means that heart sufferers with pacemakers should not be controlled by equipment which emits a signal if any metal parts are found within their field of induction.

What is more, this equipment would be registering metal which no security officer is in any position to find. The heart pacemakers are after all planted into the patient's body.

But passing through these electronic metal detection units does not take longer than a few minutes. Heart sufferers with pacemakers run no serious risk. The old frisking method so popular in gangster films would do the job just as well, however.

Wolfgang Bartsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 November 1973)

Hearing affected

Young people who visit discotheques and are exposed for hours at a time to loud music run the risk of impairing their hearing, the Frankfurt-based medical journal *Umweltmedizin* states in a recent article.

Düsseldorf University Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic and Munich Technical University conducted tests in twenty discotheques in a West German city of seven hundred thousand inhabitants.

In four cases the sound level lay between 91 and 98 decibels. Doctors claim that the highest sound level that can be endured without any damage to hearing is ninety decibels. The highest readings were obtained on the dance floors.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 November 1973)

Drug abuse

The number of patients suffering from haemorrhages in the region of the oesophagus, stomach and duodenum intestine, some of the fatal, has rocketed in the past few years. Professor Rüdiger Kroehl told a congress of gastroenterologists in Frankfurt.

The mortality rate from slight haemorrhages totals approximately eight per cent. It can rise to as much as forty per cent with serious haemorrhages. Professor Kroehl of Frankfurt estimates however that the number of deaths could be cut by half by means of endoscopy.

The most important cause of the stomach erosion leading to haemorrhage is drug abuse, especially where aspirin, anti-rheumatic preparations and anti-cancer drugs are concerned.

Stomach erosion normally only occurs when the stomach is producing too much hydrochloric acid at the time of drug abuse. It is rare for serious haemorrhages to be caused by stomach tumours and polyps.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 November 1973)

Transplants

Transplanting a dead person's organs into a future no longer depends on the prior permission of the donor or, after his death, that of the next-of-kin. A Bill drawn up by Hamburg's Department of Justice at the instigation of Justice Senator Hans-Joachim Seeler proposes that doctors should be allowed to remove organs from corpses for transplantation purposes as long as the deceased has no declaration to the contrary on his person or belongs to a religious community that rejects transplantation. Seeler put forward his proposals at the Justice Ministers Conference held in Saarbrücken on 29 and 30 October. His Bill will involve amendment of Article 168 of the Penal Code which threatens penalties of up to three years' imprisonment for the "theft of corpses or parts of corpses".

The Federal Ministry of Justice now plans to appoint a commission of lawyers and doctors to discuss those problems in this sector that are still unresolved.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 November 1973)

Allergies

The industrial age has led to the production of forty thousand substances that can cause skin allergies, Professor Karl Wulf told a congress of dermatologists in Kassel.

The tasks dermatologists have to face have increased tremendously, he told the five hundred delegates. A large number of chemicals used in factories, in the home or in foodstuffs can cause skin allergies. "Dermatological clinics are no longer looked upon as something indecent," Wulf, himself the head of the dermatological section of Kassel hospital, commented. "Venereal diseases only make up one per cent of cases treated."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 November 1973)

EDUCATION

Student foundation surveys student's finances

The number of working-class children studying at West German universities is increasing slowly but surely. Only four per cent of the student population in 1954 were children of working-class parents. By last summer term this figure had risen to twelve per cent.

Statistics issued by the Student Foundation (DSW) reveal a continuation of the trend observed over the past twenty years - the proportion of

students whose parents are civil servants or self-employed is decreasing while the proportion of students with blue-collar and white-collar parents is increasing.

The seventh DSW survey, on which the statistics are based, was conducted among a sample of 26,600 students whom the Student Foundation considered representative of the current class make-up of the more than six hundred thousand students at the Federal Republic's universities.

Students were also asked about their financial affairs. Their answers revealed that one student in three received no cash from his parents while a further 24 per cent were given a maximum of two hundred Marks a month.

Only six per cent received more than five hundred Marks a month - the minimum sum required by a student who has to maintain himself, the DSW claims. The Student Foundation itself bases its calculations on a minimum sum of 660 Marks a month.

The average student's monthly expenditure amounts to 584 Marks, compared with 379 Marks in 1966. Two hundred

Marks a month are spent on food. Professor Thomas Ellwein, the head of the Student Foundation, told the press that students therefore spent less than seven Marks a day food. This, he commented, was too little.

There has been a considerable rise in the number of students who take a part-time job to improve their financial situation. The number of students taking vacation jobs has reached its highest level since 1963. Forty per cent of students work during the summer vacation while twenty per cent have a permanent or part-time job during term-time.

The public grants scheme has been expanded in recent years. Only 26 per cent of the student population received public grants in 1963. By last summer term this figure had risen to 45 per cent.

But the DSW survey reveals that the maximum grant of 420 Marks a month is no longer adequate. The Cabinet has given the go-ahead for an increase in student grants, though not until January 1975. The Ministry of Education and Science however is trying to get this date revised.

The proportion of married students between 1953 and 1963 remained almost constant at six to eight per cent. But in 1963 itself it rose to thirteen per cent and last summer reached nineteen per cent. Sixty per cent of married students are over 25. One married student in three has a child, the statistics reveal.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 8 November 1973)

Longer student life

The average length of study at universities in the Federal Republic increased by more than ten per cent between 1970 and 1972, according to statistics issued by the Education and Science Ministry.

Students who left university in 1972 after taking their final examination or

abandoning their course of study prematurely had studied for an average of 6.3 years, compared with the 1970 figure of 5.7 years.

The length of study was above-average in languages, the arts, mathematics, the natural sciences, economics and social science.

(Die Welt, 30 October 1973)

Student accommodation

DIE WELT

Experts believe that the Federal Republic's student population will reach 780,000 by 1978. Some seventeen per cent of them will then be provided with places in halls of residence or outside accommodation compared with the present proportion of ten to eleven per cent.

The existing seventy thousand or so living quarters must therefore be doubled by this date. Though this is the Education and Science Ministry's declared aim, it is doubtful whether it can be achieved with the small amount of money the government has set aside for this purpose in the past. Between 1969 and 1972 expenditure totalled almost 140 million Marks.

But it is important to achieve this aim - it would be senseless to increase the number of students without providing an equivalent increase in living quarters in university towns.

Experts therefore call for more subsidised student accommodation outside the halls of residence system. Existing buildings could be enlarged. Backing for the building of student accommodation must be brought into line with the backing accorded to general building projects. Incorporating the building of student accommodation into the university building programme is not considered practical.

(Die Welt, 3 November 1973)

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OUR WORLD

Hoteliers look pessimistically on the future

Hoteliers in this country have not had an easy time of it in 1973. More beds than guests, rising overheads and staff wage bills have cut profits drastically for many hotels located in city centres. There is not a general crisis mood in the hotel business but many traditional luxury hotels are having to fight for their existence.

The main problem for hoteliers is the rapid increase in the amount of accommodation available at first class hotels in big cities. The hectic activity when it comes to building hotels, according to the West German department of the Intercontinental Hotel Association (IHA) representing about 320 hotel chains in West Germany, can only be explained by the fact that tax concessions and local government subsidies have encouraged hotel building where the market for hotels has not.

Demand for hotel beds has failed to keep up with the rapidly rising supply, and in many towns a major imbalance has resulted.

The strike of air-traffic controllers that has already lasted for six months has greatly reduced and disrupted domestic travel and the party changes to the Mark in recent years have cut the amount of foreign travel to this country considerably, since they have made the Federal Republic one of the world's expensive countries.

West German hotels are particularly feeling the pinch as far as American guests are concerned. Many hotels record

that this year the number of bookings by American tourists and travel agencies has declined by between twenty and thirty per cent on average.

Declining patronage of hotels together with rising costs have meant that many hotels are operating uneconomically. This applies particularly to old-established hotels centrally situated in cities with a large staff and, compared with newly built hotels, have a lot of ground to make up with regard to modernisation and rationalisation. Many of them are family concerns and are having difficulty raising capital for renovations in good time to help them fight off the challenge of newly-built hotels.

The result of these problems has been competition which in some cities has taken on an almost ruinous character. The cost of building a luxury hotel is somewhere between 80,000 Marks per room and more than 150,000 Marks in the new luxury hotels. Rough estimates show that with 65 per cent of rooms booked the cost of a room must be about 1,000th of what it took to build. Quotas of 65 per cent are rare, and in many cases room charges cannot be kept below 130 to 150 Marks per night.

To stay in the market many hotels are, therefore, pursuing a dumping policy, when arranging prices. In this light it is no wonder that even major hoteliers and international chains admit that new ventures often take as long as five years to get out of the red.

Pressure is greatest in cities like Munich and Frankfurt where hoteliers fear for their future, although the same is not true for all cities in this country. At the IHA conference in Hamburg a number of measures were discussed, and hoteliers have decided to appeal to the State and concentrate their own forces.

They demand that the State should help maintain traditional city centre hotels. They feel that this should be part of town planning and assistance should be given in modernising old hotels.

Moreover they demand that plans to withdraw tax concessions should be dropped. But hotels could contribute a great deal towards their own viability if they would drop the outdated forms of family management and embark on greater cooperation.

(Die Welt, 8 November 1973)



Schwabylon in Munich

Munich has crossed the famous bohemian quarter Schwabing with ancient Babylon and banks, boutiques, specialist restaurants, a casino, discotheque, Turkish baths, the only one of its kind in the world.

(Photo: Intervox)



Renovated castle

Bad Kreuznach Castle has been rebuilt at the instigation of Elmar Pieroth, a CDU Bundestag member. The walls and foundations of Kreuznach Castle now house a new glass and concrete structure. This is a restaurant in which 800 small shareholders from all over the country have invested. Between eight and a dozen conventions are held in this rebuilt Mediaeval castle a month and about 3,000 guests a week come to enjoy the fine view and specially selected wines.

(Photo: Arved von der Ropp)

Do-it-yourself hotel opens in Munich

There are no chamber maids to bring morning coffee or tea, no room service to bring up a last drink before turning into bed. The machine has replaced hotel staff.

Each bedroom has a vendor to supply whisky, cola and mineral water at the press of a button. And the bill for the night's stay is also automatically provided downstairs.

Breakfast is served from the machine — bread rolls that have been deep frozen and instant coffee served in plastic cups.

A Penta Hotel has opened in Munich — the name is taken from the Greek for five because five airlines participate in the financial structure of the operating company. It is now a question of waiting to see if the new type of hotel pleases the guests.

The automatic process has been introduced not only for breakfast in your room and other room services but also to the extent that there is no boy at the main door to help you in with your

baggage, and see you to the lift when you have registered.

In addition the rooms in the hotel are just a little smaller than the rooms built in luxury hotels immediately after the War. But the rooms are airconditioned, equipped with radio and have an automatic telephone. The windows are sound-proof and there is a swimming-pool. There is no first-class restaurant in the hotel either. It is a do-it-yourself hotel.

Is this the way hotels will be run in the future? Experts in the hotel business believe that the Munich hotel is a forerunner of others that are to be opened in London, Copenhagen and Paris.

The new type of hotel is specially designed for the guest in a hurry, the businessman and tourist who has only a few days, and for guests on package-tour holiday from America and more particularly Japan, the country on which European hoteliers are pinning their main hopes at present.

The kind of guest Penta is aiming at is the businessman who has a strictly limited expense account and the tourist whose budget is limited. The price for a single room for one night is from 45 Marks and for a double 65 Marks. This includes (automatic) breakfast.

A first-class hotel would charge thirty to forty per cent more for the privilege of service. In a normal hotel there is one member of staff per room. In Penta hotels there is one staff member to every three rooms.

When it is considered that fifty per cent and more of a hotel bill goes on staff overheads it can be seen how the Penta system helps rationalise. And as staff wage bills go up the saving becomes more and more effective.

The 200 staff at the 600-bed Munich hotel are having to work doubly hard for the first few weeks till all the machinery is installed. The computerised machinery system has cost 1,500,000 Marks.

Klaus Zoller

(Kölnner Stadt-Anzeiger, 31 October 1973)

Münchner Stadt-Anzeiger

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